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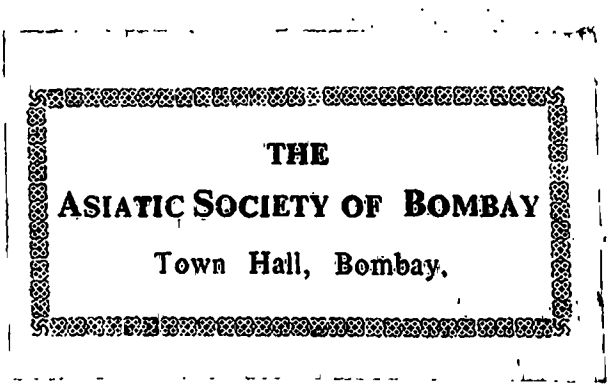

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LETTERS

FROM

NORTH AMERICA.

LETTERS

FROM

NORTH AMERICA,

WRITTEN

During a Tour

IN THE

UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

By ADAM HODGSON.

3391

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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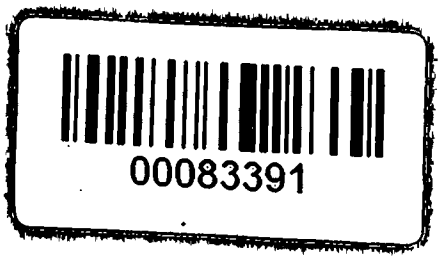
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Letter XXVI.

Boston, — Sept. 1820.

We arrived here on the 5th instant, having left Andover, about 20 miles distant, early in the morning, and took up our abode at J—'s, the principal boarding-house, where there is a party of eighteen or twenty. Some of the boarders are respectable families from the southern States; others, men of business from various parts of Europe. We all assemble at meals, and the house is pleasant and well conducted, although I am not yet reconciled to the necessity of making my bed-chamber my private sitting-room.

My commercial and social engagements have, however, left me little leisure; for nothing can exceed the hospitable attentions of the principal families here; and the good humour and intelligence which pervade the society I have met at their houses, renders it very agreeable. The day but one after my arrival, I received a very favourable impression of Boston society, at a large dinner party, consisting of many of my southern friends, who were returning from Ballston Springs, some of the Professors of Harvard College, Cambridge, and many very well-educated young men, who had travelled in Europe for improvement. This impression has been confirmed by the more extended observation I have since had the opportunity of making in a round of visiting, during which I have dined out nearly every day.

The Georgians and Carolinians, to whom the Bostonians have been performing the rites of hospitality for some weeks, have added much to the pleasure of our social intercourse; but they are now generally proceeding to New York or Philadelphia, where they will remain till the southern fevers abate, (poor Savannah is in a dreadful state.) This interchange of civilities, and constant meeting at the Springs, is gradually extinguishing sectional prejudices;

and as the Canadians are beginning to enter the circle, I hope it will abate something of the disgraceful animosity of the colonies towards their neighbours. I lately met Mr. Poletica, the Russian Ambassador, with the Secretary of Legation, at a party here; but they returned to Washington some days since.

Boston has often been compared with Liverpool; and on this occasion, I was much struck with the justice of the comparison. You would be surprised to see how strong a resemblance there is between the two places, in the general aspect and furniture of the houses, in the domestic arrangements and style of living, and in the manners, habits, and character of the people.

There is much simplicity and frankness in the manners of the young ladies; and the intimate connection of their brothers, or relatives, with the neighbouring college, seems, in many instances, to have had a happy influence on their literary taste. I have met with no *blue stocking* ladies, although I am disposed to believe that a larger proportion understand a little of Latin than with us. Some, I am told, are learning Greek, but I give this merely as an *on dit*.

"I know not how the truth may be,
"I tell the tale as 'twas told to me."

Of the lighter accomplishments, dancing seems to be the general favourite, and to be pursued with no ordinary zest. The number of balls which are given would surprise you. I have lately been at several large evening parties, arising out of weddings, which always seem to be going on in this country, as of course they must, where the population doubles itself in 20 or 25 years.

The country, in the neighbourhood of Boston, is undulating and beautiful, and enriched with a profusion of wood and water. The fine bay, studded with islands, forms an interesting object, from many of the handsome country seats in the neighbourhood. The weather generally has been delightful, like our finest autumnal weather, with skies so clear, that we have occasionally seen a planet from the Exchange, at 3 o'clock in the day. We have since had some of our November rain and cloud; but the sky is now clear and frosty, and fires are universal.

A few days since, I visited the Waltham cotton mills, and was much surprised to see the degree of perfection they have obtained, both in spinning and in weaving by power-looms. They very obligingly showed me their books, and all the particulars with respect to speed, waste, wages, expenses, and profit. The last

has been such as to induce them greatly to extend their works. I will give you all these particulars when we meet. They will confirm your impression, as they did mine, of the rapidity with which America is advancing in manufacturing skill. The general appearance of the workmen and children was more orderly and respectable than I have ever seen in England, even in those mills in the country, where the apprentices receive the most attention.

I have also visited Bunker's Hill and Nahant, the latter the most celebrated promontory between the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico. A gentleman dined with us there, who replied to my interrogations, whether he had seen the sea-serpent, of which this neighbourhood is said to be the favourite haunt, that he had had the misfortune to see it three days before; that he really considered it a misfortune, as no one would believe him; and he could not, in sincerity, deny having seen it.*

Large and handsome houses are very much

* The American accounts of the sea-serpent, derive strong confirmation from the well authenticated facts respecting the extraordinary animal seen by the Rev. Mr. Maclean, among the Hebrides in 1808, and that cast on shore on Red Orkneys, in that year.—*Wernerian Transact.* Vol. I.

in fashion in Boston, and this, perhaps, is the most expensive taste of the Bostonians. But the basis of expenditure here, as well as of commerce, is real capital, represented by a sound and undepreciated currency. I must prefer the commercial character of Boston to that of any place I have yet seen in America, except, perhaps, its neighbour Salem. This latter place, you will recollect, as the scene of an edifying exhibition of toleration on the part of those non-conforming emigrants, who fled from their country to obtain civil and religious liberty, and then exercised it by burning reputed witches; but you will remember it with more pleasure, as the place that generously offered its warehouses, gratis, to the Boston merchants during the revolutionary war. I visited it with great interest. It is a singular little town of astonishing wealth, and formerly had 60 or 70 ships in the East India trade, employed principally in carrying the produce of China and the Eastern Archipelago to the various parts of Europe. Indeed, many, if not most of the large commercial fortunes, I have observed in America, some of them almost without a parallel in Europe, have been made in those branches of the East India trade, which our East India Company never engaged in, but

from which their monopoly excludes British subjects. I never met with merchants more intelligent on commercial subjects than at Salem, or in more close connection with the most remote foreign markets. We found them very hospitable; but they are sometimes taunted with a deficiency in this particular, because they do not give five or six different kinds of fine old Madeira, as is common here. They have much leisure, good literary institutions, and the few whom I saw were very well informed on general topics. Sir Humphrey Davy's chemical discoveries were fertilizing the rocky coast of Salem, and enlightening the minds of its inhabitants. Their voyages, they told me, were generally planned in their insurance-offices or coffee-rooms, where they appeared to be doing nothing.

The other day, some friends took me to Brighton, five miles distant, to the annual cattle show and exhibition of domestic manufactures; of the former I am no judge, and the array of the latter, required the aid of all my philanthropy to suppress the rising apprehensions of an English merchant. It would be difficult to mention any manufacture which was omitted, from a tawdry rosy-cheeked wax doll, to the most substantial fabrics of woollen or cotton. The

blue cloths at eight dollars per yard, I found were considerably better than could be imported at the same price. They are said to retain their colour much better than ours, perhaps from the superior cheapness and more plentiful use of indigo here. The Waltham shirting at 26 cents, and sheetings at 37 cents per yard, bore away the palm as regarded cotton goods. Between the exhibition and dinner, our party went to see a new manufactory of lace, lately established by General Sumner. It is on a small scale. We found there the Governor of Massachusets, and the Governor of Ohio, both of whom dined with us afterwards at the anniversary dinner, with upwards of 300 persons, including most of the respectable people in the neighbourhood. The Governor of Ohio told me, that his errand was to see the state of manufactures here, in order to introduce them on a larger scale than their present one, into Ohio; he has been for many years concerned in a cotton mill there, which, though indifferently managed, has been profitable; but he expects to see Ohio a great manufacturing state. The mill *seats* are numerous; subsistence very low, Indian corn being considerably below 20 cents per bushel; and the expense of bringing cotton from Mississippi less than 1½ cents per lb.

The dinner went off very well, but the 300 persons comprised a comparatively small proportion of what I should consider the yeomanry of the country. In fact a New England farmer would not readily consent to give 2½ dollars for a dinner, and the privilege of hearing a string of toasts in praise of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. We dined at half-past two o'clock, and reached town at six.

To-day has been entirely spent in finishing my social and commercial calls. I lately had the pleasure of meeting, by appointment, the venerable Dr. Worcester, the corresponding secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, as he passed through Boston; he appears to be sinking under his labours.

I have been glad to feel a little settled after wandering through such a succession of new scenes and objects. This has been more easy in Boston, than it would have been in any other place in the United States, closely connected as it is with the most interesting events and characters of the American revolution, and with the early and affecting history of the learned and religious exiles, who left their country for conscience sake. Almost every street presents some spot or building of interest or notoriety in the revolutionary war, and

occasionally, though seldom, we meet with one of the few surviving actors in scenes and events which are matter of history to the present generation.

General Dearborn and Governor Brooks, are the only revolutionary heroes whom I recollect meeting in company at Boston.

In the Faneuil Hall, or Cradle of Liberty, as it is called, I attended a public meeting on the subject of prohibiting duties on foreign manufactures. It was with strange and mingled feelings, that I saw this intelligent portion of a great, prosperous, and independent nation, so lately an infant colony on a rocky shore, with hostile Indians in their rear, proceeding to discuss a question which assumed the possession of resources, which other nations have been centuries in attaining. While they were coldly animadverting on the experience of Great Britain, and deriving warnings from her example, I often grew a little angry, and felt that they might have remembered that she was their parent country, and that she still supplied them with a large portion of the knowledge which enabled them to avail themselves of their natural resources.

I have been much interested in tracing little peculiarities in the manners and institutions of

the Bostonians, to the customs of their puritanic ancestors; but I will not tire you with these in a letter.

I am surprised by the proofs which are presented to me of the learning of the "Pilgrim Fathers," as they call the first settlers, and with their active solicitude to found seminaries for learning, while wanting almost the necessaries of life. They must have been sadly disheartened at the first sight of the rocky shores of New England. At Salem I saw the original charters from Kings James and Charles. A few weeks will close the second century, since the arrival of the first settlers at Plymouth; and an oration will be pronounced on the rock where they landed, to a large concourse of people from different parts of New England. One can hardly conceive a finer subject for an orator, than the occasion will suggest.

I think I never mentioned, either that I saw the Constitution, the Independence, and the Java frigates, which are lying at Boston, or that I dined one day in company with the son of one of the pretended Indians, who poured the odious tea out of the chests into the Bay.

New York, 21st October.—We set off from Boston in the stage, at four o'clock in the morning of the 19th, and breakfasting on the way,

reached Providence, in Rhode Island, about one o'clock. This is the seat of the earliest, and most extensive, but now by no means the most complete establishment of cotton manufactures in this country, and contains many large and handsome private houses. As I could not stay a few hours without staying two or three days, and as I had seen Waltham, I proceeded in the mail to Norwich, about 80 miles from Boston, where we arrived at seven o'clock in the evening. The most agreeable companions in the stage were one of the Theological Professors of Andover, and an Episcopal clergyman, who had travelled over Europe, and spent some time at Oxford. Our conversation turned for a considerable time on the comparative authority and validity of Episcopal and Presbyterian ordination, and a good deal of real learning was displayed on both sides.

The Americans have the advantage over us in coolness and courtesy in argument, and scarcely ever interrupt the speaker, a lesson of politeness imbibed, perhaps, from the Indians, who are most particular in this respect.

At Norwich we took the steam-boat, dropped down the river to New London, where we anchored till day-light, and then proceeded about 50 miles to Newhaven, where we arrived

in the evening, and were transhipped into another steam-boat, the Connecticut. The sun was just setting, and the full moon rising in a cloudless sky, as we left the beautiful bay of Newhaven, and at four o'clock this morning we found ourselves lying at the wharf of New York, about 54 miles from Newhaven, and 230 from Boston, which we had left 48 hours before. It is an easy and pleasant journey; but there is little interesting in the scenery, either in Rhode Island, or that part of Connecticut through which we passed. The appearance of Rhode Island was rocky, desolate, and uncomfortable; and the people, I am told, are in a worse condition than in any part of New England, with respect to morals, education, and religion.—Indeed, if the accounts stated to me by my fellow-travellers be correct, it must be worse than any other non-slave-holding State I have yet seen. A great change was perceptible on entering Connecticut, although the external character of the country was similar for some distance. Norwich was the birth-place of the traitor Arnold.

The shores of Connecticut presented a pleasing variety of woodland and cultivation, as we sailed through the Sound, and were animated by numerous villages, with their still more

numerous spires. We had a very large party on board the steam-boat; and among others, my friends the Episcopalian clergyman, and the Professor, whom I mentioned in a former part of this letter, and the Governor of Ohio. The latter came on board in the night, and had changed his dress a little, so that I did not immediately recognize him. When I did, he apologized for not speaking first, but said the manners of my countrymen were in general so stiff, (he would gladly have said haughty,) that he had been obliged to come to the determination never to speak first, although always pleased with an opportunity of conversing with them. We then became very intimate, and I found him an interesting and very intelligent companion. He removed into Ohio in 1796, when it was comparatively a wilderness. He represented the State 12 years in the Senate, and has been Governor four years. He has 20,000 acres of good land, and when I spoke to him at Boston, had a cotton-mill; but he has just heard of its being burnt down.

I was amused last night by an illustration he furnished of the levelling nature of republican institutions. We were so large a party, that we had to draw lots for births; he drew in his turn, and got a birth, but he found it pre-occu-

pied when he wished to retire, and very good naturedly took a cot on the floor, with some of the less fortunate of us.

The Connecticut steam-boat is as much inferior (though highly celebrated) to the New Swiftsure, on the St. Lawrence, in point of accommodation and style, as a provincial inn to a first-rate London hotel; and as an Englishman, I felt flattered by the comparison. I have just been to pay a morning call on my Charleston acquaintance, Col. ——, who brings his family every year to spend the summer at their country residence near New York; they were preparing for their return to Charleston; and the young ladies talked of their journey of 800 miles as if it was a ride from a country-seat in one of our midland counties to the metropolis.

I am staying at the Mechanic Hall, where I find many Georgians and Carolinians, who are still deterred by the continued prevalence of the fever in the south from returning home.

Letter XXVII.

Philadelphia, 31st October, 1820.

I WROTE to you by the Hercules; and have since had the gratification of receiving, by the Ann Maria, after a very short passage, your letter of the 30th ult. with your "all well," of the 6th instant, as well as ——'s letter of the 4th instant, which has reached me on the banks of the Delaware, 27 days after it was written in Cheshire.

We set out from New York on the 20th; and on getting into the boat to cross the bay, I was glad to find my Salem friend, Mr. ——, and the other two Massachusets' delegates to the Convention, which is sitting here to oppose the new tariff. He introduced me to all the party, who had fortunately brought their ladies with them. They filled one of the stages, which met us on the other side of the bay; but on reaching Bristol, about 60 miles from New York, we all went on board the same steam-boat, and arrived at Philadelphia at seven o'clock, 96 miles, in 13 hours.—Fare, 22s. 6d. each.

The boarding-house, where we proposed staying, being full, (the Russian Minister and his suite were of the party there,) I came to Mrs. Carvers, in Fourth-street, a very pleasant house, where I found Mr. and Mrs. ——, and several southern planters, who filled the boarding-houses at present, being detained longer in the north than usual, by the continued prevalence of fever at home. Mr.B. is the Senator from ———, whom I met frequently at Washington, in the winter. They breakfast, dine, and drink tea, with the rest of the boarders. This house was formerly the residence of Mr. Dallas, the Secretary of the Treasury, and is close to that which was occupied by the late Dr. Rush. It is extremely well conducted; the only deficiency being that of private sitting-rooms. To a stranger, the system of boarding-houses is a very convenient and agreeable one, as it gives him an excellent opportunity of seeing society, and frequently the best society in the country. An introduction is sometimes required for admission; and they are often kept by ladies who have moved in very respectable circles. I have lately spent one or two mornings very agreeably, in visiting several country-seats in the neighbourhood. Those on the Schuykill, particularly, are very romantically situated, and

are frequently furnished expensively and in good taste. I dine out frequently. At several large dinner parties, I have met many of the most distinguished members of Congress. On these occasions, the conversation has generally been earnest, if not animated, and always directed to some topic of general interest. In an evening, I often meet with agreeable society at the house of Mr. ——, where a lamp is lighted several nights in the week, as a sort of telegraphic signal that the family is at home. Mr. and Mrs. ——, are remarkable for their hospitality, and for their liberal and excellent arrangements for entertaining strangers. On calling there the other evening, on my way home, I found a lady, who mentioned General Washington giving her his portrait; and I heard a gentleman describe, from memory, the last scene of the General's public life, when he resigned his office, and delivered his last speech from the State-house, which was within 200 yards of us—the house in which the Declaration of Independence was first proclaimed. He repeated, what I have often been told, that much as General Washington rode and walked through the streets, during a residence of several years in Philadelphia, he seldom passed a window, without the party in the room rising to

look at him, although they might have been in his company the hour before.

Many of my friends here are Quakers; and at their houses I spend many agreeable hours. At one of them I recognized an old friend, in a representation of Warwick Castle, on some beautiful china cups and saucers; and on inquiry, learnt that they had obtained a drawing of this interesting castle, and sent it to China to be painted. As a city, Philadelphia is quite unique, and I admire it more and more every day. Indeed, when in its very centre, you can scarcely believe that you are in a city. The bustle of business is confined to the new street nearest to the Delaware; and the rest of the city gives you the idea of a genteel watering place.

The fine airy streets, one and a half to two miles long, cross each other at right angles, and at intervals, open into spacious squares, which are frequently ornamented with handsome trees. Those streets which run from east to west, are called 1st, 2nd, 3rd, &c. while those from north to south derive their names from trees, Chesnut, Walnut, Spruce, Pine, Cedar, Mulberry, &c. bearing some analogy to the name of the State. The door-cases and steps are of white marble: they are kept beautifully clean; and the effect is heightened by the substitution of

white metal, in the place of brass, for the door-plates and handles. There is, however, a stillness, or rather a silence in the streets, which it is difficult to reconcile with the idea of a large city. They are as quiet as the streets of Gloucester, or Hereford, but are relieved from vacuity and dullness by a constant succession of well-dressed, genteel-looking, and handsome young ladies. I often think how William Penn would be astonished, if he could take a glimpse of his dear city Coaquonnoc, as the Indians called the place where Philadelphia, with its 120,000 inhabitants, now stands. In 1683, he writes, "Philadelphia, the expectation of those who are concerned in the province, is at last laid out. It is advanced, within less than a year, to about 80 houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocation as fast as they can." The other day I visited, by appointment, the interesting and handsome Institutions of the Orphans' Asylum,* and the Widows' Asylum, both of which owe their origin and good

* A melancholy accident has since happened to the Orphans' Asylum. It accidently caught fire in the night; and of its ninety-one little inmates, twenty-three unhappily perished in the flames.

management principally to the family of my conductress. On my return, I called upon the Reverend Dr. Morse, the American geographer, at present employed by the Government to visit the various nations of Indians, and to point out the best mode of applying the sums which have been appropriated by Congress for their civilization. He had returned from a long tour among the northern Indians, and proposes next proceeding to the southward.

I have also visited the Penitentiary and Hospital. The former is now totally destitute of classification, though, perhaps, justly claiming the honour of first exhibiting some of the most important improvements in prison discipline. It is melancholy to observe this declension, which is to be attributed partly to the frequent change of managers, according to the alternate predominance of political parties; but principally to such an increase of population and crime, as renders the former space wholly inadequate to present wants.* A new prison is projected, on

* I extract the following from the Appendix to Mr. Roscoe's interesting pamphlet, entitled "Additional Observations on Penal Jurisprudence, and the Reformation of Criminals:"—

"The following well drawn, but distressing portrait of the once celebrated Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, has been fur-

the pan-opticon principle, and furnished, I think, with 700 private cells, is now near its comple-

nished by order of the Board of Inspectors, in answer to a letter, addressed to them by the committee of the House of Representatives; and as it expresses in detail the awful situation of that Institution, in language more impressive than your committee could present, it has been deemed expedient to give it entire:"—

Extract of the letter alluded to in the preceding paragraph: "It is nearly fifty years since its corner-stone was laid, long before the genius of humanity had erased from our statute-books those sanguinary edicts which had for so many years stained their pages. Still, however, very many beneficial results flowed from the system in the first few years succeeding its adoption.

"The prison was well managed. Industry was encouraged among the prisoners. Employment was abundant, and in consequence of the number of criminals being small, classification, to a certain degree, was observed. The consequence was, that the internal part of the building appeared to a visitor rather like a well-regulated manufactory than a prison. Instances of reformation, in the early period of this system, occurred; and among all the prisoners, order and good discipline were maintained.

"Hence Pennsylvania obtained a name among her sister states as well as in Europe for her mild penal code, and her well-regulated Penitentiary.

"But this fame was short-lived. The State has not kept pace with the increase of her population, and its consequent increased depravity: she has continued for thirty years past to send hundreds to a prison, which, at the first, as it respects that part of it appropriated to convicts, was not fitted for the solitary confinement of fifty. With the rapid increase of prisoners, there has, within a few years past, owing to the effects

tion at Pittsburgh, in this State. The Hospital is a noble institution, and admirably managed.

of the late war, and the difficulties of the times, been a considerable increase in the depravity and high daring of the character of our prisoners; to all which may be added the want of sufficient employment."

Letter XXVIII.

Philadelphia, Oct. 1820.

As I am now resting a little after my wanderings, I am anxious to take the earliest opportunity of complying with your wishes, and of giving you the impressions I have received of the American character in the course of my route. I might, indeed, have done this at an earlier period, but it would have been with less satisfaction to myself. Indeed, I have occasionally been led to doubt whether I have viewed the subject with impartiality, either while receiving the kind attentions which I have so generally met with, or when exposed to the inconveniences incident to travelling in the unsettled parts of the country. I have sometimes been ashamed to find how much my opinions were influenced for the moment by humour or circumstances, and how necessary it was to guard against forming ideas of a peculiar town from the reception which I might happen to meet with, or the circle into which I might accidentally fall. I shall, in future, have little

confidence in any general conclusions respecting a country, founded on the experience of a single traveller; since, however candid may be his representations, they must necessarily be drawn from a range of observation comparatively limited; and be tinctured, at least in some degree, with his own mental peculiarities.

Having thus prepared you to receive my statements with caution, I will give you my impressions without reserve. If, in opposition to their republican principles, we divide the Americans into classes, the first class will comprehend what are termed the Revolutionary Heroes, who hold a sort of patent of nobility, undisputed by the bitterest enemies to aristocracy. Their numbers, indeed, are few; but they have too many peculiar features to be embraced in the description of any other class of their countrymen. Many of them were educated in England; and even those who never travelled, had generally the advantage of the best English society, either colonial or military. They were formed in the English school; were embued with English associations; and, however active they were in resisting the encroachments of the mother country, they are, many of them at least, delighted to trace their descent to English families of rank, and to

boast of the pure English blood which flows in their veins. In the families of these patricians, in which I have spent many agreeable hours, I met with nothing to remind me that I was not in the society of that class of our well-educated country gentlemen, who occasionally visit the metropolis, and mingle in fashionable or political life. The *old* gentlemen of this class are indeed *gentlemen* of the old school; and the young ladies are particularly agreeable, refined, accomplished, intelligent, and well-bred.

The second class may include the leading political characters of the present day, the more eminent lawyers, the well-educated merchants and agriculturists, and the most respectable of the *novi homines* of every profession. It will thus comprise the mass of the good society of America; the first class, which comprehends the *best*, being very limited, *sui generis*, and about to expire with the present generation. The manners of this second class are less polished than those of the corresponding class in England, and their education is neither so regular nor so classical; but their intellects are as actively exercised, and their information at least as general, although less scientific and profound. The young ladies of this class are lively, modest, and unreserved; easy in their manners,

and rather gay and social in their dispositions: at the same time, they are very observant of the rules of female propriety; and if they ever displease, it is rather from indifference than from either bashfulness or effrontery. Their appearance is generally genteel and agreeable; their figures are almost universally good; and they dress remarkably well—in this city, indeed, more to my taste than in almost any place I recollect; for which they are indebted partly to the short passages from Europe, which waft across the Atlantic the latest fashions from London and Paris; partly to their accommodating tariff, which places within their reach the beautiful Canton crapes, and all the most elegant materials for dress which American enterprise can collect in the four quarters of the globe; and partly to the simplicity of the Quaker costume, which has had a happy and sensible influence on the taste and habits of the community at large. Their tone of voice, which is generally a little shrill, and their mode of pronouncing a few particular words, are the peculiarities of manner which I think would be most remarked upon in the best society in England. Generally speaking, also, the style of female education in America is less favourable to solid acquirements than with us. The young ladies

here go earlier into society than in England, and enter sooner into married life: they have not, therefore, the same opportunities for maturing their taste, expanding their intellect, and acquiring a rich store of well-arranged and digested knowledge, as those have who devote to improvement the longer interval which climate or custom has, with us, interposed between the nursery and the drawing-room. In the highest class, especially in Carolina, there are many exceptions to this general remark; and among the young ladies of Boston, there appeared to me to be, if less of refinement than in the Carolinians, yet a very agreeable union of domestic habits and literary taste, and great kindness and simplicity of manners.

The third class may comprehend all below the second; for in a country where some would perhaps, resent even the idea of a second class, this division is sufficiently minute. This class will include the largest proportion of the American population; and it is distinguished from the corresponding classes of my countrymen (the little farmers, innkeepers, shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics, servants, and labourers,) by greater acuteness and intelligence, more regular habits of reading, a wider range of ideas, and a greater freedom from prejudices, provincialism, and

vulgarity. It is distinguished, also, by greater *coldness of manner;* and this is the first of the charges against the nation, generally, on which I shall remark.

As respects the highest classes, I think this charge is; in a great measure, unfounded; their reception of a stranger, at least, appearing to me as frank and as warm as in England. To that part of the population which I have included in the third class, the charge attaches with strict propriety, and in many cases their coldness amounts to the English "cut direct." At first, it incommoded me excessively, especially in the women in the country, who showed it the most; and I have sometimes been disposed to ride on, not in the best temper, when, arriving at an inn, after a long stage before breakfast, and asking, very civilly, "Can we have breakfast here?" I have received a shrill "I reckon so," from a cold female figure, that went on in its employments, without deigning to look at us, or to put any thing in motion to verify its reckoning. In due time, however, the bread was baked, the chicken killed, and both made their appearance, with their constant companions, even in the wildest part of America, ham, eggs, and coffee. The automaton then took its place; and if I had been an automaton

also, the charm would have remained unbroken; but I do not remember an instance in which the figure did not converse with good humour before I rose. Very often, however, our reception was warm and friendly; and the wife or daughter who poured out my coffee, was frank, well-bred, obliging, and conversable. The coldness of the men, also, I soon found to be confined principally to their manner, and to indicate no indisposition to be sociable and accommodating. On the contrary, in a route of more than 7000 miles, of which I travelled nearly 2000 on horseback, and the rest in steam-boats and stages, I have found the various classes as accommodating and obliging as in England; sometimes, I confess, I have thought more so. Some parts of Georgia and the Carolinas might suggest a slight qualification of this remark; while East Tennessee, and the valley of the Shenandoah, might almost claim a warmer eulogium. In the course of my route, I have met with only one instance of personal rudeness, and that too slight to be mentioned, except for the sake of *literal* accuracy. My servant's impressions correspond with mine. On questioning him, at the termination of our route, he said, "he thought the Americans quite as ready to serve us and one another as the English; and that they were

continually expressing their surprise to find Englishmen so civil. Now, our civility was nothing more than would naturally be suggested by a recollection of the institutions of the country through which we were travelling, and a general desire to be pleased with friendly intentions, however manifested. The coldness of manner of the Americans, however, is a great defect, and must prejudice travellers till they understand it a little.

With regard to the *vanity* which is charged upon them: this foible is admitted by all their sensible men, who are disgusted with the extravagant pretensions maintained, in inflated language, in their public prints; I have heard some of them jocosely say, that they expect their countrymen will soon begin to assert that they are not only the most powerful and the most learned, but the oldest nation in the world.

In good society, however, I have seldom witnessed this vanity in any remarkable degree, and I really think I have seen more of it in the Americans I have met with in England, than in the whole range of my observation, since I landed in this country. When I have made the concessions, to which I thought the Americans fairly entitled, I have not often observed a disposition to push their claims too far; but, on

the contrary, a readiness to suggest some point of comparison in which Great Britain has obviously the advantage. And, without attempting to defend an acknowledged defect in their character, I must confess the Americans have some excuse for their vanity. Descended (which of us will dispute it?) from *most illustrious ancestors*, possessing a territory, perhaps, unequalled in extent and value, victorious in the infancy of their history in a struggle for their independence, and rising, with unprecedented rapidity, in the scale of nations, they must be more than mortal if they were not elated with their condition; and if sometimes they may appear to draw too heavily on the future, and to regard America rather as what she is to be, than what she is, I must own that I never yet met with an American who carried his views of her future greatness so far as I should be disposed to do if she were my country, and if I could be satisfied of the predominating influence of *religious principle* in her public councils.

As for the *inquisitiveness* of the Americans, I do not think it has been at all exaggerated.—They certainly are, as they profess to be, a very inquiring people; and if we may sometimes be disposed to dispute the claims of their *love of knowing* to the character of a liberal curiosity,

we must at least admit that they make a most liberal use of every means in their power to gratify it. I have seldom, however, had any difficulty in repressing their home questions, if I wished it, and without offending them; but I more frequently amused myself by putting them on the rack, civilly, and apparently unconsciously, eluding their inquiries for a time, and then awakening their gratitude by such a discovery of myself as I might choose to make. Sometimes, a man would place himself at my side in the wilderness, and ride for a mile or two without the smallest communication between us, except a slight nod of the head. He would, then, perhaps, make some grave remark on the weather, and if I assented, in a monosyllable, he would stick to my side for another mile or two, when he would commence his attack. "I reckon, stranger, you do not belong to these parts?"—"No, sir; I am not a native of Alabama."—"I guess you are from the north?"—"No, sir; I am not from the north."—"I guess you found the roads mighty muddy, and the creeks swimming. You are come a long way, I guess?"—"No, not so very far; we have travelled a few hundred miles since we turned our faces westward."—"I guess you have seen Mr. ——, or General —— ?" (mentioning the names

of some well-known individuals in the middle and southern states, who were to serve as guide-posts to detect our route;) but, "I have not the pleasure of knowing any of them," or, "I have the pleasure of knowing all," equally defeated his purpose, but not his hopes. "I reckon, stranger, you have had a good crop of cotton this year?"—"I am told, sir, the crops have been unusually abundant in Carolina and Georgia." —"You grow tobacco, then, I guess?" (to track me to Virginia.) "No; I do not grow tobacco." Here a modest inquirer would give up in despair, and trust to the chapter of accidents to develope my name and history; but I generally rewarded his modesty, and excited his gratitude, by telling him I would torment him no longer.

The courage of a thorough-bred Yankee* would rise with his difficulties; and after a decent interval, he would resume: "I hope no offence, sir; but you know we Yankees lose nothing for want of asking. I guess, stranger, you are from the old country?"—"Well, my friend, you have guessed right at last, and I am sure you deserve something for your perseverance; and, now I suppose it will save us both

* In America, the term Yankee is applied to the natives of New England only, and is generally used with an air of pleasantry.

trouble, if I proceed to the second part of the story, and tell you where I am going. I am going to New Orleans."—This is really no exaggerated picture: dialogues, not indeed in these very words, but *to this effect*, occurred continually, and some of them more minute and extended than I can venture upon in a letter. I ought, however, to say, that many questions lose much of their familiarity when travelling in the wilderness. "Where are you from?" and "whither are you bound?" do not appear impertinent interrogations at sea; and often in the western wilds I found myself making inquiries, which I should have thought very free and easy at home. And, indeed, why should that be deemed a breach of good manners in *North* America, which in *South* America is required by the rules of common politeness? "The Abipones of Paraguay," says Dobrizhoffer, "would think it quite contrary to the laws of good-breeding were they to meet any one, and not to ask him where he was going; so that the word miekaùe? or miekauchitè? 'where are you going?' resounds in the streets."

The next American habit on which I will remark, which always offended me extremely, is the almost universal one of *spitting*, without regard to time, place, or circumstances. You

must excuse my alluding to such a topic; but I could not in candour omit it, since it is the most offensive peculiarity in American manners. Many, who are really gentlemen in other respects, offend in this; and I regretted to observe the practice even in the diplomatic parties at Washington. Indeed, in the capitol itself, the dignity of the Senate is let down by this annoying habit. I was there the first session after it was rebuilt, and as the magnificent and beautiful halls had been provided with splendid carpets, some of the senators appeared at first a little *daunted;* but after looking about in distress, and disposing of their diluted tobacco at first with timidity, and by stealth, they gathered by degrees the courage common to corporate bodies; and before I left Washington had relieved themselves pretty well from the dazzling brightness of the brilliant colours under their feet! It was mortifying to me, to observe all this in an assembly, whose proceedings are conducted with so much order and propriety, and in chambers so truly beautiful as the Senate and House of Representatives—the latter the most beautiful hall I ever saw.*

* The following extracts will show that this practice is not quite so peculiar to America, as many of my countrymen suppose. No precedent, however, can justify, in any degree,

Another thing which has displeased me, is *the profusion and waste usually exhibited at meals.* Except in the very best society, the plate is often loaded with a variety of viands, and is dismissed half emptied. An Englishman is shocked at the liberal portions allotted to the young ladies, till he finds they afford no measure of the appetites of those to whom they are sent, who appear to be as abstemious as his own fair country-women. Still, this exhibition of waste is always displeasing; and when viewed in connexion with the sufferings of so many of the population of our own country, is also distressing.

a habit so offensive, that it ought not to be tolerated a moment in any society, which pretends to have advanced one step towards civilization:—

"In the evening, we visited the Governor, (at Benger,) and found an assembly, consisting of some of the principal people of the city. The gentlemen were engaged playing whist, with enormous tobacco-pipes of meerschaum in their mouths, smoking in the presence of the women, and spitting on the floor."—*Dr. Clarke's Travels in Scandinavia.*

"A German lady spits upon the floor of her apartment, even when it is covered by an expensive carpet; and many attempt to justify such a breach of good manners by urging that it is a practice tolerated even at Court.—*Ibid.*

"Some few things must be conceded to a Swede, and you will make him your fast friend, and the most kind-hearted and generous of men. He must be allowed to enter your apartments unbidden and unknown, upon the moment of your arrival, without any form of introduction or ceremony; to seat himself at your table; spit all over your floor; fill

But the necessaries of life are here produced in abundance, and, with very few exceptions, are within the reach of every one. I only recollect seeing three beggars since I landed.

After touching on these points, I do not feel willing to conclude my letter without reminding you of the kindness and hospitality, the good sense and intelligence, which I have every where met with; and of the frequent exhibition of philanthropic and religious feeling which has given a peculiar interest to many of the scenes through which I have passed. The American character, to be estimated correctly, must be

your chamber with tobacco-smoke; ask your name, your rank, your profession, your age, your country, your character, your business, all your pursuits and future plans; where you have been, what you are doing, and whither you are going; finally, what you think of Sweden. Having answered all these questions, sometimes without his caring at all about your replies, or attending to them, you will find yourself upon even terms with him. His house, his horses, his wine, &c. &c. and very often his purse also, are entirely at your command."

"Some of the habits of the French women, says Matthews, must be considered as shockingly offensive. What shall we say of the spitting about the floor, which is the common practice of women as well as men, at all times and seasons; not only in domestic life, but also upon the stage, in the characters of heroes and heroines, even in high imperial tragedy."—*Diary of an Invalid.*

The same offensive habit, I am told, very generally prevails in Spain and in Italy.

regarded as a whole; and as a whole, it has been calumniated to a degree derogatory both to the intelligence and the generosity of my country. The Americans have been exasperated into unfriendly feelings by our real jealousy and apparent contempt; and their very sensibility to our good opinion, which they cannot conceal, has rendered the misrepresentations of our travellers and journalists the more irritating. Americans have often asked me if we do not in England consider them a horde of savages; and when the question has been proposed to me by a fair lady, in a handsome drawing-room, furnished with every article of luxury which money could procure in London or Paris, I found no difficulty in acquiescing in the conclusion which she seemed to draw from a hasty glance around her, that such an idea would not be *quite* just. On such occasions, I have often thought how many of my candid and liberal female friends would blush, if they could be introduced for the evening, to find how erroneous were their previous ideas of trans-Atlantic society. But it is when joining in religious worship with exemplary and eminent Christians, or witnessing the extent and variety of their benevolent efforts, that I most keenly feel the apathy with which, in England, we are accustomed to regard our

American brethren. I really am not without hopes, that it may yet become the fashion for ladies of the two countries to exchange visits across the Atlantic. Then, and perhaps not till then, will my country-women learn to do justice to their Western sisters; and leaving it to us, their knights-errant, to maintain their own superiority, as in duty bound, will begin to think it *possible*, at least, that intelligence, refinement, and piety *may* combine, even on this side of the Atlantic, to form characters justly entitled to esteem and affection. The supercilious disdain with which, in many circles, the very idea of polished society in America is rejected, would be suppressed by a more correct estimate of American manners; and prejudice would be succeeded by candour and liberality. Christian sympathy also would be awakened towards those unknown distant friends, who, sprung from the same stock, and speaking the same language, profess also the same religion; and who, strangers and pilgrims on the earth, like their European brethren and sisters, are travelling a thorny road to that better country, where Christians, of every nation, will be for ever united in one common family.

My very sensibility to the unrivalled excellencies of my fair country-women makes me

additionally solicitous that *they*, at least, should be exempt from those unchristian prejudices, which some of my countrymen appear to regard as proofs of patriotism. The pleasure and exultation with which I have just been listening, in a large party, to warm eulogiums on Mrs. Hannah More and Mrs. Fry, and some other of our illustrious females, have rendered me at this moment peculiarly susceptible on this point; and you must excuse me if I write with corresponding earnestness. The conversation afterwards turned on the signs of the times in both countries; and on our rambles in Canada, where many of the party had spent the summer. It was very pleasant to compare our adventures and impressions. Montreal and Quebec are so much like old European towns, and differ so widely from the airy, expanded cities of the United States, that an American feels as far from home, on his first arrival, in a Canadian city, as I did in the forests on the Mississippi. As he looks round him, he feels more and more in a foreign land; and the foreign language and gentle manners of the native Canadians confirm the impression. The pomp of monarchy, even when dimly seen in the regalia of a viceroy: the aristocratical distinctions apparent even in a colony: the vestiges of the feudal system to

be traced in the surrounding seignories; the nunneries, and the Catholic churches, with their vesper and matin bells; the priests and friars walking in the streets, and the boards of plenary indulgence suspended from the walls, are all calculated to recall impressions connected rather with the old world, than with the newly discovered continent, where man still shares his divided empire with the beasts of the forest. Here no gray tower meets the eye, to call back the imagination to scenes and incidents of elder times; no monastic edifices, to revive the memory of ancient superstitions; no regalia, transmitted through a line of kings; no feudal magnificence; no baronial splendour; no sacred depositories of the ashes of generations, who have slept with their fathers during a thousand years: all is new, fresh, and prospective; and if the mind *will* take a retrospective glance, it is but to expatiate in the regions of fancy, or to lose itself in the clouds which rest on the early history of the aborigines. But I shall have tired you.

Letter XXIX.

Philadelphia, 6th Nov. 1820.

——NEITHER am I able to write to you as fully as I could desire on the subject of emigration to the *United States*, upon which you say you should wish to hear what occurs to me. On this difficult and interesting topic, I will enter more particularly shortly; and, in the mean time, will send you the result of my observations on the inducements which *Canada* appeared to me to offer to English labourers and other persons of little or no property. Those observations were necessarily both rapid and superficial; and my information is proportionably scanty, although I endeavoured to seize every opportunity of obtaining intelligence.

The lands which the Government is at present distributing in Upper Canada lie parallel to the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, and constitute a range of townships in the rear of those already granted. They are said to be no where above ten or fifteen miles distant from the old settlements. Land offices are established in ten different districts, in order to save the emigrants the trouble

of going up to York; but their power is restricted to grants of a hundred acres. When an emigrant has chosen the township in which he wishes to settle, and has complied with the necessary formalities, he receives, by lot, a location-ticket for a particular hundred acres, with a condition that he is not to dispose of them for three years. The title is not given till he has performed his settling duties; which are, to clear five acres in each hundred, and the half of the road in front. Now these certainly appear to be very easy conditions on which to obtain the fee-simple of a hundred acres: and the proposal to emigrate must therefore be a tempting one to a starving labourer or mechanic.

The real inducements, however, are so much less than the apparent ones, that although many would wisely emigrate even with a full conviction of the difficulties they had to encounter, I believe that, at present, there is not one emigrant in five hundred who does not feel bitterly disappointed on his arrival at Quebec. Instead of finding himself, as his confused ideas of geography had led him to expect, on the very borders of his little estate, he learns with astonishment that he is still five hundred miles from his transatlantic acres; and, if he has no money in his pocket,

he may probably have to encounter, in reaching them, more severe distress than he ever felt at home. There is, indeed, much benevolent feeling towards emigrants both at Quebec and Montreal; and societies have been formed in each of these places, to afford them information and relief; but the inhabitants are beginning to complain that the requisitions for this purpose are becoming more burdensome than even the English poor-rates. The steam-boat companies are also liberal; (indeed almost every man of property feels a personal interest in the encouragement of emigration;) but an emigrant must be unusually fortunate who reaches the Land Office in Upper Canada, without expending at least £5 after landing at Quebec. The emigrants who accompanied us in the steam-boat in which I ascended the St. Lawrence, were some of those lately sent out free of expense by our Government; but there was one, a smart shoemaker, not of that number, who had been detained some weeks at Quebec earning money to carry him up the river.

When the emigrant arrives at the Land Office of the district where he proposes to settle, determined perhaps in his choice by the hope that his lot will place him in the vicinity

of an old acquaintance, he may probably have to wait some weeks before the next distribution takes place; during which he must be supporting himself at an expense increased by his ignorance of the manners of the country. He then learns, perhaps for the first time, that there are certain fees to be paid at the different offices through which his papers must pass. I have a list of these before me in which they are stated to be,

	£	s.	d.
For 100 acres	5	14	1
200 do.....	16	17	6
500 do.....	39	19	9
1000 do.....	78	10	2

I was, however, informed by several persons from York, with whom I crossed Lake Ontario, one of whom said he was in the habit of transacting this business for the emigrants, that, for a hundred acres, the fees were £13 10s. This I mentioned to the Sheriff and several of the principal merchants at Montreal, who did not dispute it; one of them observing only that he believed there had been cases in which grants of 50 acres were made without fees.* It is much to be regretted that where land is said to be gratuitously bestowed, *any*

* I believe grants of 50 acres are generally, or always, to be obtained without fees.

fees should be deemed necessary ; as the boon, when accompanied with this demand, is calculated to produce discontent rather than gratitude, especially where the emigrant finds that his fees amount to one-half the sum at which he could select and buy the same quantity of land, without the delay attending the grant, and unshackled with any conditions or clearing dues. The surveyors receive their compensation in land, and generally secure the most valuable portions. When I was in Canada, they would sell their best lots at one dollar per acre ; while £13 10s, the fees on a hundred acres, amount to more than half a dollar per acre. I never met with any one person among all those with whom I conversed on the subject, who did not agree that, if a settler had but a very little money, it would be much more to his advantage to *buy* land, than to *receive* it from Government.

Supposing the emigrant to be able to pay his fees, he may still have the misfortune to find that his allotment (for he can only choose his township, not his estate,) is not worth cultivating. In this case he has to pay two respectable persons for surveying and certifying it to be irreclaimable ; and he is then permitted

to take his chance in the next distribution.—Generally speaking, I believe, he may expect to find himself in his own forest from three to six weeks after his arrival at the Land Office in Upper Canada.

Even then his situation is most dreary, especially if he has no neighbour within a reasonable distance, and has to purchase and carry his provisions from a remote settlement. But if he has no money to procure food; if he has a wife and family to provide for, without the forlorn hope of parish assistance; if he is a weaver or a spinner, accustomed to warm rooms, and to employments little calculated to impart either the mental or physical qualifications essential to his very support; if he is, in fact, of a class to which a large proportion of the poor emigrants from Great Britain belong; I can hardly conceive any thing more distressing than his sensations, when, arriving on his new estate, with an axe in his hand and all his worldly goods in his wallet, he finds himself in the midst of a thick forest, whose lofty trees are to be displaced by a labour almost Herculean, before he can erect the most humble shelter, or cultivate the smallest patch. And if at such a time he has

further, to anticipate the rigours of a long Canadian winter, his situation must be deplorable in the extreme.

Under such circumstances, the ordinary circumstances I should imagine of the *poorest* emigrants to Canada, I can conceive of no resource, nor could I hear of any except that of hiring themselves to some older settler, in the hope of saving a trifle in order to be able, in the course of time, to pay for clearing an acre or two of their forest farm, or to buy provisions while they attempt a task for which they are little qualified. Sometimes a few will join, and one-half hire themselves out to obtain provisions for the other half while felling the trees. If they surmount the difficulties of the first year, they may expect at its termination to be in possession of an adequate supply of food for their families; and with the prospect, if they are industrious, of being independent and progressively prosperous during the remainder of their lives.

Those, however, who have money enough to provide for their immediate wants, and to pay the expense of clearing a moderate proportion of their land, (possessing £100 to £200, or £500 for instance,) may, in a single year, be very comfortably settled in a decent log-house with

out-buildings, and with every prospect of a liberal supply of all the substantial comforts of a farm. Every year would add largely to their abundance, and to their facilities for improving and extending their estate; but they would accumulate money slowly, unless they had, as they probably would have, an occasional foreign market for their grain besides the West Indies. They may also derive some little profit from pot and pearl ashes, which Mr. G—— of Montreal told me he received on consignment from Ohio, a distance of 800 miles, by way of Lake Erie and Ontario. The situation of Upper Canada is further said to be favourable to the culture of hemp, notwithstanding the failure hitherto of the most promising experiments.

Grain, however, will be their staple commodity; and although the large body of settlers who arrive annually may afford a temporary market, they will soon produce far more than they consume, and under ordinary circumstances will depress the prices very nearly to a level with the cost of production. Indeed I heard the farmers of Lower Canada complaining that their markets were glutted with the produce of the Upper Province.

For several years the average price of wheat in Upper Canada has been about five shillings for sixty pounds; but on the American shores of the Lake we found it at twenty-five to thirty-three cents; and although its introduction into Upper Canada is either prohibited or shackled with heavy duties, it will, of course, find its way into the province whenever the price there is *materially* higher than at home. In the Lower Province, when our ports are open, they consume American grain, and export their own; as it is necessary their shipments should be accompanied with certificates of Canadian origin.

Any interruption to the timber trade would diminish the market for grain; since a very large body of consumers are found in the raftsmen, who collect and convey the timber from the lakes and rivers to Quebec, and in the crews of five or six hundred vessels who replenish some part, at least, of their stores at that port. The raftsmen are in a great measure the link of communication between the Montreal and Quebec merchants, on the one hand, and the emigrants and back-woodsmen, on the other—the channels through which British manufactures flow into the interior, and country produce to the coast.

Although, therefore, I have a list before me of fourteen heads of families, with eighty-six children, who, beginning the world with nothing but their industry, have, in the course of fifteen or twenty years in Canada, accumulated an aggregate amount of property of £35,000, about £2,500 each, I conceive, that a farmer removing thither from Europe, for the purpose of making money rapidly, would certainly be disappointed. On the other hand, if his object were to prevent the diminution of what little property he actually possessed, and to secure independence for himself, and a career of prosperous industry for his children—to purchase, by the sacrifice of the many comforts of an old settled country, the advantages of a less crowded population and a cheaper soil—to withdraw from the burdens, without retiring from the protection, of his native land,—and, without assuming those obligations to another government which *might* make him the enemy of his own;—to settle, though in a distant colony, among his countrymen and fellow-subjects, within means of instruction for his children, and opportunities of public worship for his family;—if these were his objects, and he could bring with him health, temperance, and industry,

and one or two hundred pounds, I am persuaded that, in the ordinary course of things, he would be remunerated a thousand-fold for his privations.

And, notwithstanding all I have said of the difficulties of the early settler without money, a young man of industry, enterprise, and agricultural habits, without family, or with the means of leaving them for a year or two with his own or his wife's friends, who should come out to Canada, and hire his services till he could have a log-house built, and two or three acres cleared, would probably find himself, in the prime of life, an independent farmer, on his own estate, with abundance of the necessaries of existence, and with prospects brightening as he advanced towards the evening of his days. But the sickly, the shiftless, the idle, the timid, and the destitute, with large families, will, I have no doubt, suffer far less in living from hand to mouth in England, than in encountering the difficulties of emigration to Canada.

The soil of Upper Canada is, generally, extremely good; and the climate, with the exception of a long and severe winter, unobjectionable. To persons on the spot, possessed of accurate local information, opportunities, I have no doubt, occur of making advantageous

investments of capital in land on speculation; but the inducements to such projects will probably be limited, and, to a certain degree, accidental, while Government continue to grant lands either gratuitously, or as a reward for military services. At present, some preposterous regulations exist with respect to the intercourse between Upper and Lower Canada, and their respective commercial relations with the United States; but these will fall to the ground, when that more intimate union is established between the provinces, which their interest demands and will no doubt shortly secure.

Letter XXX.

Philadelphia, 21st Nov. 1820.

My last letter conveyed to you pretty fully the ideas which occurred to me, during my visit to Canada, on the subject of emigration thither. I think I did not overstate the privations which emigrants must undergo; but I am persuaded that, in spite of them all, while it continues under the British Crown, it will be a happy asylum for thousands, who will gradually arrive, through various degrees of suffering and disappointment, at comfort and independence.

The facilities and intrinsic value of Canada—the fertility of its soil—the beauty of its scenery, and the salubrity of its climate, greatly surpassed my previous ideas, and, as far as I had an opportunity of judging, the ideas generally entertained in England. Americans also appear to me universally to return to Canada with far higher ideas of its importance than they had before conceived; though I am strongly of opinion, that, as an acquisition to the United

States, neither the American government nor people regard it as particularly desirable. How far Great Britain is interested in retaining it, has often been doubted; but, without expresing any opinion on this subject—rendered more difficult and complicated by its connexion with considerations of much importance to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the West Indies, and its relation to the just claims and expectations of the inhabitants—I could not consent, I confess, without some sacrifice of feeling to the relinquishment of so fair a portion of the globe; a beautiful romantic country, watered by a river, into which the tide flows more than 400 miles; which is navigable for 580 miles for ships of 500 tons burthen, and which, after a course of nearly 3000 miles, (the outlet of inland seas, whose area is computed at 96,000,000 acres, or 150,000 square miles,) expands, at its mouth, to the width of 90 miles, and discharges, according to the estimate of American geographers, one-half more water than the Mississippi.* After being frequently induced to cast a somewhat envious eye on the fine unoccupied land of the south-western part of the United States, I was delighted to find,

* See Darby, Dr. Dwight, and Dr. Morse.

that *we*, also, had a spacious territory, and a virgin soil, where millions may, with common industry, attain ease and competence.

The present situation of England had rendered the subject of emigration so interesting, when I left home, that it has secured my attention during every part of my route through the United States; but I was, perhaps, led to endeavour to qualify myself to form more clear and decided views of the various advantages which different sections of the country respectively offer, by finding, soon after we commenced our journey, that my servant was beginning to wonder how he and his wife would like this side of the Atlantic. I did not at all check the idea, but offered to assist him in getting all the information in our power; observing only, that I would recommend him to decide on nothing till he had been in Canada, as I should think much better of him, if he preferred, with the *same* inducements, to settle in a British colony than under a foreign government,—that if the United States, however, presented greater inducements, I would give him every assistance in settling there. I also advised him to make his inquiries as extensive and minute as possible, in order that if, as I thought probable enough, after familiarity for

a few months with solitary log-huts and frontier settlements, and the exertions and privations attendant on clearing forests, and subduing a wilderness, he should be satisfied that England, after all, was the best place for *him*, there might be classes of his countrymen, to whom his information would be important.

With these views we proceeded through the most newly-settled districts in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia; living almost entirely among very recent emigrants, sleeping with them in their log-huts, erected in many cases the week before, and through the sides and roofs of which the stars twinkled upon us as we lay on the floor, with a brilliancy enhanced by the extreme purity of the atmosphere.

My conversation with these hardy pioneers turned naturally on the peculiarities of their situation, their past sacrifices, or present difficulties, and their prospective compensation; and as I made it a rule, from which I deviated only in one instance, to get rid before night of any companions whom I might happen to have picked up in the course of the day, I was usually enabled to make myself one of the family, and by sitting down with its members at their meals, or over their fire, to draw them

out, and render them very communicative. By this plan, I not only escaped the effects of the possible ill temper, or want of suavity, of a travelling companion, under the little trials of our novel accommodations; but, by creating less bustle in the family, I saw things more in their ordinary state.

In our course through the above-mentioned States, we met with only three or four cases in which the emigrants regretted the change; although the price which some of those in Alabama had been obliged to pay for their Indian corn the first year, (and which amounted, in the case of one family, to six dollars per bushel, and for one purchase eight,) had thrown them back three or four years in their calculations. All these, however, were Slave-States; and I was glad to find that my servant considered *that* a decided objection to settling in them. Indeed, as no title could be obtained but by purchase, there were no decided inducements to those who, like him, have only from £80 to £100.

We found many families living very comfortably on land which they had taken possession of, and had cleared, on the presumption that some peculiarities in the situation would prevent its being brought to sale for many

years, and that they should obtain something for their improvements, even if they should not have realized sufficient in the mean time to purchase a title to their occupation. It is very *unpopular* to bid against these "*Squatters.*" They assume a very independent attitude, and from the produce of a single crop, it was common for them, till the late depression of prices, to obtain a fair remuneration for the labour employed in making their *improvements.*

The first night we lay out in the woods in Alabama, one of the points discussed by some Carolinian emigrants, who came to our fire to have a little chat before bed-time, was the eligibility of stopping on the road a year, to make and sell a crop from the public lands in their way, or of proceeding without delay to their ulterior destination in the State of Mississippi. They appeared pretty nearly decided on the former plan.

The Southern States presenting, as it appeared to me, no adequate inducement to indigent English emigrants, I turned my especial attention to the advantages offered in the western part of the State of New York, where it has been understood that many of those destined for Canada finally settle. I found it impossible to learn, with any precision, to what extent the

tide of Canadian emigration is still diverted to the State of New York; but I am disposed to believe, that fewer, in proportion, pass over into the American limits than formerly. Neither could I entirely satisfy myself as to the inducements to do so, especially as the soil is not superior in the State of New York; and it is not very uncommon for Americans to go over into Canada to settle. I believe, however, that the principal reasons are to be found in the extreme activity of the agents of the Holland Company and Sir William Pulteney's estate, (who are very solicitous to promote the rapid settlement of their respective tracts,) and in the aid which they afford the emigrant at his outset, in letting him settle on their lands free of rent for the first two or three years; assisting him, perhaps, in raising a little cabin, or lending him a little Indian corn.

These trifling services, especially to an emigrant who has no money with which to pay his fees in Canada, are not only very seducing in prospect, but essentially contribute to lessen the first and severest difficulties of a new settler. Ultimately, however, I am disposed to think they are disadvantageous in the majority of instances; the New York settler having to begin to provide for rent and instalments,

(which, even under the alleviated pressure of his situation, it would require both self-denial and good management to save,) at the very time when the Canadian settler is emerging from his greater difficulties, and deriving a liberal subsistence for his family from his own unburdened estate. I have been told, that very few persons under the former system ultimately maintain possession of their lands; but that, after supporting themselves and their families in greater or less abundance, they are compelled to abandon their improvements for arrears in rent or instalments, and, joining the forlorn hope on the frontiers, to repeat their laborious and interminable efforts, to convert the wilderness into a fruitful field. In passing through the State of New York, I heard a great deal of the distress which at present exists from inability, on the part of the emigrants, to pay their rents and instalments, and of the hard names which the agents had to bear for proceeding to extremities. Still, however, an active, prudent man, would, under ordinary circumstances, succeed under the system, and probably as rapidly at least as in Canada; but it would require greater self-denial to impose the necessary severities on himself in New York, than to submit to them when unavoidable in Canada. The

general observations which I made concerning the classes to whom emigration to Canada would prove a real benefit, are equally applicable to emigration to the United States; but in a future letter, I will endeavour to give you some idea of what farmers, who bring with them a few thousand, instead of a few hundred pounds, may expect to do in different parts of the United States. I will, at the same time, tell you all I can learn respecting Mr. Birbeck's settlement.

I had not intended to confine this letter to such dry statistics; but it is too late to begin on any other subject.—My servant, I believe, is disposed to think, that he is better at home than in America; except in his present capacity, in a city where his wages might be ten pounds per annum higher than in England, and where his wife's services as a dress-maker, fine washer, &c. would be productive.

Letter XXXII.

Norfolk, Virginia, 12th Dec. 1820.

As engagements of various kinds begin to thicken upon me previously to embarking, and I have little chance of any opportunity of writing to you as I *wish*, I must continue to snatch little intervals as they present themselves, and write to you as I *can*.

You are already in possession of our "personal narrative" to a late date. I will now continue my remarks, scanty and superficial as I know they are, on the subject of emigration. I do not recollect that I omitted any thing at all material which occurred to me during my hasty progress through the country, with respect to the inducements offered to the *poorer* classes, who are anxious to obtain a little land, from which they may derive a subsistence for their families by personal exertion. On the more difficult subject of the advantages which agriculturists, with a capital of a few thousand pounds, would derive from coming to this country, I shall enter with greater reluctance;

because it is one, in the minutiæ of which I feel still less at home, although I have taken pains to obtain such information as would lead me to conclusions on which I could rely. The fact is, that of the more recent settlements, (even of those less remote than Mr. Birkbeck's,) little is known on the coast, and the accounts which we receive from casual visitors are usually as vague and inaccurate as those derived from persons interested, are exaggerated and partial. *Opinions*, respecting all the settlements, it is easy enough to collect; but *facts*, on which to found opinions, entitled to any consideration, it is extremely difficult to obtain.

I have met with two persons only who have actually been at Mr. Birkbeck's settlement; one in the course of the last summer, the other less than eight weeks since. They both state, that he has now a very comfortable house, excellent fences, and from 60 to 80 acres of Indian corn; but that he has raised little or no wheat, finding it more desirable, on the whole, to purchase flour at Harmony, 18 miles distant.

I have not Mr. Birkbeck's book before me to refer to, in order to see whether this is his second or third year; but, in either case, the result differs so widely from his anticipations,

as to render it difficult for him to elude the charge of being a wild and sanguine speculator.

In one of his estimates, he states the following as the quantity of produce which a settler on 640 acres, may expect to raise in the first three years :—

1st year,	100	acres of Indian corn.
2nd do.	100	ditto ditto.
	100	ditto Wheat.
3rd do.	200	ditto Indian corn.
	100	ditto Wheat.

He arrived in his new settlement not later, I believe, at any rate, than in the year 1817, (you can refer to his book;*) and yet, in the autumn of 1820, he has little or no wheat, and only 60 or 80 acres of Indian corn, though possessing, unquestionably, in his skill and resources, more than the average advantages of new settlers, and stimulated to extraordinary exertions, by a regard to his reputation. So much for quantity. With respect to price, in his estimate of profit, he takes wheat at 75, and Indian corn, at 40 cents per bushel. I cannot hear of any actual sales on the Wabash, to fix the prices on the spot; but in both Kentucky and Ohio, wheat is at

* I find, on referring, that Mr. Birkbeck's first letter from his settlement in Illinois, is dated 22nd Nov. 1817.

25 to 33, and Indian corn at 12½ cents per bushel: while the fact that he regards it as more desirable to buy and transport flour 18 miles, than to raise it at home, furnishes a strong presumption that he can derive little profit from its cultivation. The gentleman whom I mentioned, as being there a few weeks since, told me, that Mr. Birkbeck was preparing to sow a little wheat this winter; but that he regarded grazing as the most profitable object of his future attention. Of the price of labour, and of foreign articles of domestic economy, I could obtain no satisfactory information. I lately met a gentleman, who has been travelling extensively through the western country. He did not visit Mr. Birkbeck's settlement, but saw two English families returning from it sickly and debilitated; their inability to preserve their health there, being, as they alleged, their principal reason for leaving the colony. He also met an English gentleman of property, who had been to examine the place, with a view of taking his family thither: he said, the sight of it, and a conviction that it was unhealthy, decided him at once to relinquish the idea; that he considered the selection a most unfortunate one for Mr. Birkbeck, and

that the number of the colonists did not exceed 200.

I have heard others speak rather favourably of the healthiness of Mr. Birkbeck's *particular spot*, to which his draining-fences will contribute; but all represent Illinois in general as a most unhealthy State, where the people, for the most part, are pallid and emaciated, and exhibit the languor and apathy which follow frequent or long-continued intermittents.

I became sadly too familiar with this melancholy spectacle, on my south-western route; scarcely one family in six, in extensive districts, in the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, being exempt from fever and ague; and many of them exhibiting tall young men, of eighteen to thirty, moving feebly about the house, completely unfitted for exertion, after 15 or 18 months' residence, or rendered indolent or inefficient for the rest of their lives. In Georgia and Carolina, we were told, in a jocular way, that it was not uncommon for a person, who was invited to dinner on a particular day, Wednesday for instance, to begin reckoning "Monday—Tuesday—Wednesday —No; I cannot come to you on Wednesday, for that is my fever day."—The two gentlemen

who had visited Mr. Birkbeck, agreed in stating, what has often been denied, that he has a well of excellent water.

On the whole, I am disposed to think that Mr. Birkbeck's sanguine anticipations have been grievously disappointed, and would have been proved by the result to have been extravagant, independently of the recent changes in the circumstances of the country. At the same time, it is probable that even his present views of his situation and prospects, moderated as they must be by his past experience, embrace advantages which, in *his* estimate, far outweigh the privations and sacrifices attending his removal hither, and lead him still to congratulate himself warmly on his change of country. And, indeed, in possession of all the substantial comforts of physical life; removed beyond the sphere of those invidious comparisons which would render him sensible to artificial wants; exempt from present anxieties, and with a reasonable prospect of leaving every member of his family independent and prosperous, his situation, in a worldly point of view, may be a very comfortable one. I am inclined, however, to think, that independently of his ambition to found a colony, and his apparent anxiety, while in motion, to get as far as possible from his

native country; an anxiety for which true English feeling finds it difficult to account; he might have invested his property in some of the Atlantic States, with as much, or more, advantage to the second or third generation of his family, and with a far less sacrifice of present comfort. Should his family, however, retain any large quantity of land, a growing density of population in the western country, and even in Illinois, notwithstanding its present unhealthiness, may render it a source of wealth in future years.

In the ordinary course of things, without a European market, agricultural profits in this country must be extremely low; among other reasons, because so large a *proportion* of the population, compared with most other countries, will be land-proprietors, and so small a proportion dependant on others for their agricultural produce; and because the great fertility of the soil will leave an unusually large surplus, after maintaining the labourers employed in its cultivation. It appears to me, that the natural tendency of this state of things among an industrious and enterprising people, is to encourage domestic manufactures; I mean manufactures really domestic—made in the family—the produce of that labour, which higher agricultural

profits would retain in the field, but which there appears to be no inducement to employ in the cultivation of produce, which will sell for little or nothing when raised. It is of little importance to the small farmer, that foreign manufactures are tolerably low, if his produce will neither command *them*, nor money to buy them. He can obtain his clothing in exchange for his leisure hours; but then it must be by employing those hours in actually *making* his clothing, and not through the intervention of agricultural produce. I am surprised to find to how great an extent this species of manufactures is carried, and how rapidly the events of the last two years have increased it. In some parts of the State of New York, I was told the little farmers could not make a living without it. In Pennsylvania, it is, perhaps, still more general; some of the lower description of East India goods having almost entirely given place to a domestic substitute actually made in the family; and the importations of Irish linens having been most seriously checked by the greatly increased cultivation and manufacture of flax in the immediate vicinity of Philadelphia. In Virginia and North Carolina, I had opportunities of seeing these domestic manufactures as I passed in the stage: and on my horseback-route, it was

a constant source of surprise—to *you*, I may add, without danger of being suspected to be a Radical, and of gratification; for this combination of agriculture and manufacture in the same family appears to me to form a state of society particularly calculated to produce a happy, independent, and virtuous population. If I mistake not, America will exhibit this combination in a greater degree than any nation with which I am acquainted, unless the permanent removal of our corn laws should give a new stimulus to her agricultural labour; and even then, the immensity of her fertile territory might enable her to supply our wants, without checking her in any material degree in the career I have anticipated for her.

Whether the American Government are pursuing a wise policy in urging her forward so rapidly in that career, or whether they are not advancing her prematurely, by extravagant protection, to a state at which she would arrive, with more advantage, at a later period, in the natural course of things, is a fair question for discussion, and one on which her intelligent men are not entirely agreed. Indeed, it is a question on which the interests of different states and individuals are so directly opposed to each other, and with respect to which any decision, however just, would

necessarily involve so large a sacrifice of personal and local advantage for the general good, that few persons can bring to its consideration an unbiassed mind. It is probable, that my own opinion, as a British merchant, connected with the American trade, may not be impartial; but I confess that I have never yet heard the advocates of the manufacturing system make out a case sufficiently strong to justify the enormous protection they are desirous of securing for their infant manufactures. If any particular branch of manufacture, not essential to the safety of America, require protecting duties on foreign goods, of 40 or 50 per cent. in addition to the expense of transportation; is it not a fair presumption that the time has not yet arrived when it is desirable that that particular manufacture should be established? But if we persist in refusing to admit her corn into Great Britain, she must, of necessity, limit her import of our manufactures; for her consumption is bounded by her means of payment, and by that alone. Had our Government been sufficiently alive to this consideration, they would surely have paused before they crushed an incipient trade, and dried up a new source of payment, by the imposition of the duty of 6d per lb. on the importation of raw wool. When the account

of that duty reached America, the export of raw wool instantly ceased; and we received instructions from our correspondents to purchase the coarse wool of South America, and to lodge credits in Germany, Spain, and Portugal, for the supply of the woollen manufactures of the United States. These manufactures have now taken deep root; and although they were, in a great measure, planted by the impolitic duty to which I have alluded, they have now become too hardy and vigorous to have their growth materially checked by its repeal. The duty was stated in Parliament to be an experiment; but experiments, of this description, are not made with impunity, as the British manufacturers will know, to their cost, if they are often repeated.

With respect to our corn laws, you will readily believe that my observations in this country have only confirmed my conviction of their impolicy. When I see the American farmer expending twice the labour, in making his clothing, which would be necessary to raise the corn, for which he might obtain them from the British manufacturer; and the latter, giving for his corn twice the quantity of his manufactures, which would be necessary, if he might exchange them for the corn of the American

farmer, I cannot but feel that the arguments ought to be powerful indeed which justify the prohibition of an interchange so mutually advantageous. These arguments have been placed in very formidable array, by our candid, enlightened, and benevolent countryman, Mr. Malthus; but in this case, I confess, I am led to doubt the truth of the old proverb, that second thoughts are best. The earlier opinions which were entertained on this subject, by this intrepid inquirer after truth, appear to me the more correct, although I admit that there is much weight in the considerations which have induced him to change his sentiments. It has always appeared to me, that the strongest argument against the gradual repeal of our corn laws, is, its tendency to alter the relative proportions of our agricultural and manufacturing population; but in the present situation of Great Britain, can this be avoided without incurring still greater evils? And would not the Irish population, whose interests, so long and so deplorably neglected, will in future, I trust, be allowed a more prominent place than has hitherto been assigned them in the discussion of any question of national policy by which they may be affected—would not the Irish population be most materially benefited

by such an extension of demand for our manufactures, as would diffuse manufacturing establishments over the sister island.

I am very sensible of the evils to which a manufacturing population is exposed; but, lamentable as they are, I confess, I think they are not to be compared with those incidental to a half-starved, lawless, and exasperated peasantry. Besides, I sincerely believe that the rapid extension of moral and religious education will ultimately eradicate many of the evils which generally prevail, wherever manufactures have collected the population into large masses.

Again, if the enlightened views which are now diffused among the liberal part of the mercantile community be adopted, as in time they will be by the Government, it will be found impossible to proceed far in that enlightened system of commercial legislation, which such views will prescribe, while the price of our corn and labour is artificially raised so much beyond those of our competitors.

I rejoice in every approach towards a perfectly free trade. I trust we shall never stop till we have attained it. The gradual removal of every impolitic and antiquated restriction is no less becoming the rank which Great Britain holds among commercial nations,

than demanded by the exigencies of her situation, and the spirit of the age; but to attempt to establish a perfectly free trade, without an alteration in our corn laws, is to attempt an impossibility.

But I did not intend to enter on these speculations. I have sometimes wished you could see what a pretty family picture a mother and two handsome daughters make; (I suppose you will say such a trio always make a pretty family picture;) the mother spinning, and keeping a daughter on each side most actively occupied in carding for her. In the hope that this picture will play around your imagination, and lead you to forget how dry a letter you have been reading, I will conclude for the present, especially as I am arriving at the end of my paper. I intend, if I have time, that another letter shall accompany this.

Letter XXXII.

Norfolk, (Virginia,) 13th December, 1820.

THE little digression into which I was insensibly led, in my letter of yesterday, prevented me from completing my remarks on Mr. Birkbeck. I have already mentioned some of my reasons for supposing that, in the ordinary course of things, agricultural profits will be generally low in this country. Nor am I aware of any peculiarities in Birkbeck's situation which would form an exception in his favour, in this particular. It must not be forgotten, that while the imminent danger of flour turning sour at New Orleans, his principal market, is to be set against the advantages he may possess over the *farmers* in the Atlantic States; in his competition with the *graziers* of Ohio, his great distance from the Atlantic cities, may more than counterbalance the benefit of a readier access to extensive prairies. At present, I am told, that the expense of conveying flour from Illinois, and selling it at New Orleans, would leave little or nothing for the grower of the wheat; and I

have been assured, on the authority of several persons who have passed through Kentucky and Ohio, this autumn, that in many cases, the farmers would not cut their wheat, but turned their cattle into it; and that in others, the tenants would hardly accept of the landlord's moiety of the produce which they had stipulated to give him for rent.

Mr. Mellish, the traveller and geographer, whom I frequently saw in Philadelphia, showed me a letter from Mr. Birkbeck, in which he says: "There is an error of some importance in my Letters; and I wish that a correction of it could accompany the publication. In my estimate of the expenses of cultivating these prairies, I have not made sufficient allowance of *time* for the innumerable delays which attend a new establishment in a new country. I would now add to the debtor side, *a year of preparation*, which will, of course, make a material deduction from the profits, at the commencement of the undertaking."

On the whole, I am disposed to believe, that experience may suggest to Mr. Birkbeck some mode of making money, though far more slowly than he expected; and I think the general estimate of the merits of his situation, by the natural re-action of his exaggerated

statements, is, at present, a little *below* the truth.

I should not be surprised, if a new and extensive market were gradually opened to the western farmers, among a population employed or created by *manufacturing establishments* beyond the mountains. Wool may be raised on the spot, with tolerable facility; and I have already mentioned the low rate of freight at which, in Ohio, they can obtain cotton from Louisiana and Mississippi, in exchange for wheat, which will scarcely grow at all in those southern states.

As the Waltham factory, near Boston, can sustain itself so well against foreign competition, I do not know why cotton mills should not flourish in Ohio, where mill-seats are numerous and excellent, provisions low, labour moderate, and the protection contemplated by the duty on foreign articles increased by distance from the coast. Hitherto, capital has been wanted, commerce and land-speculations absorbing all that could be begged or borrowed; but the India trade is at present discouraging, the land mania has partly subsided, and money is readily to be had on good security for five per cent.

From what I hear of Ohio, I know of no place where a young, enterprising, skilful cotton-spinner, with from £5000 to £15,000 capital, fond of farming, and exempt from those delicate sensibilities which would make his heart yearn towards the land of his nativity, would pass his time more to his mind, or be in a fairer way of realizing a large fortune. To the mere farmer or agriculturist, also, I should consider it an inviting State. I was told by the late Governor of Ohio—one of the earliest settlers in that State, and for many years, one of its representatives in Congress, a very active, intelligent man, with whom I have already made you acquainted—that unimproved land, of good quality, is to be had for 1½ to 2 dollars per acre; improved, with a house and barn, and pretty good, for 6, and the best in the country for 20 dollars. He considers, that farming capital, well managed by a practical hard-working farmer, assisted by his family, produces six to nine per cent, at the low prices of 12½ cents for Indian corn, and 25 cents for wheat, and 15 to 20 per cent, at 25 cents for Indian corn, and 50 cents for wheat. I should imagine this was too high a return to calculate upon where labourers were to be hired, and the capital large; but he

seemed to say it was not; and added, that grazing would pay much better interest, the cattle being sold to drovers from Philadelphia, whom I remember meeting in the forests of the Mississippi, with herds of cattle which they had purchased from the Indians, 1000 or 1200 miles from their destined market.

I asked a very respectable and intelligent resident in Ohio, how he would recommend an Englishman, coming to settle in that state as a farmer, to employ his £5000, supposing that to be his capital. He said he would purchase a farm and stock with £500, leave £2000 in government or bank securities, bearing interest to bring in a certain income, and the remaining £2500 he would invest judiciously in land, to be left to improve in value as a speculation. On this last, he would venture to underwrite a profit of 100 per cent, in 10 years, asking no other premium than the excess above 100 per cent. Many bargains are now daily offering. He said, if a person vested £1000 in a farm and stock, and in making his house comfortable, £2000 in government securities, yielding six per cent interest, and £2000 in land to lie idle, improving in value; the six per cent, which he might safely calculate on making from his farm, besides maintaining his family on its produce, added to the six per cent for his

£2000, in money securities—together £180—would enable him to keep a carriage and two horses, and three servants, and to enjoy many of the comforts of life. This, too, I consider highly coloured, after making every allowance for the difference between his estimate of comforts and ours. His would probably exclude wine, and tea, and coffee; or at least his coffee would probably be pale enough, when every pound cost one or two bushels of wheat. English ideas, also, as to clothes, even on a peace establishment in the western wilds, and still more as to education, would probably differ widely from those of my informant. The expense of a good boarding-school, or "seminary," for boys or girls, (in this country they have as few *schools* as *shops*, except Sunday-schools, though as many *seminaries* and *academies* as *stores*,) is £35 per annum, near Chillicothe. He has some of his family at school on these terms; and I think he said that at the female "seminary," Latin was taught, if desired. In dress and manner he is of about the same "grade," as the Americans would say, as a respectable Yorkshire farmer, possessing an estate of £600 or £800 per ann.; and lives, I should imagine, somewhat in the same style, with a table, from his description,

perhaps more profusely spread with domestic produce—such as beef, mutton, venison, turkies, game, and fruit,—and more restricted in foreign wine and colonial luxuries. He spoke of going over to England to bring two or three hundred people with him to Ohio, "where he would make them so happy;" but his family attachments bind him to home. Such men as the overlooker of your mill, or others equally steady and experienced, but more acute, would prosper well in Ohio, under his auspices. They would be growing rich, while the *poor* settler on land would be only comfortable and independent; a condition, however, by no means to be despised, especially when capable of suggesting such poetical ideas, and such harmonious numbers as the following:

"'Tis I can delve and plough, love,
"And you can spin and sew;
"And we'll settle on the banks
"Of the pleasant Ohio."

The present is a most favourable season for investing money in this country; and a judicious capitalist, who would take time to look about him, and watch opportunities, might lay out his money to great advantage. The depreciation of real estate throughout the Union, is perfectly astonishing; and sales are occasionally

forced, at sacrifices almost incredible. You will have seen, in the American newspapers, the various proposals before Congress, and the recommendation in the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, for remitting part of the price, and extending the time of payment to those purchasers of the public lands, whose instalments are not yet paid up. This relief will probably prevent the Alabama settlers from executing the intentions, which, in my letters from thence, I mentioned having been so generally expressed to me, of relinquishing their purchases, and forfeiting the instalments already paid.

In Richmond, where the disastrous results of the bank mania have been pre-eminently conspicuous, and where real estate has fallen 50 to 75 per cent, there having been several instances in which property having been sold, payable in three or four instalments, has, after the payment of all the previous instalments, been transferred to the seller to discharge the last; it is estimated that more than one-half of the city and its immediate vicinity, is mortgaged to the banks.

In Baltimore, about one-third is similarly situated; and property there is only prevented from exhibiting a depreciation, nearly equal to

that of Richmond, by the policy adopted by the banks of holding it, in the expectation that its gradual advance will pay them a better interest for their money, than could be obtained from investments or discounts, if they were to force a sale. A house and store were pointed out to me in Baltimore, in the principal commercial street, which, about 1816, were let for 2000 dollars per annum, but are now let for 600 only. This is an extreme case; but taking the city generally, it would probably be correct to estimate the decline in rents at from 40 to 50 per cent. Real estate has fallen from 33 to 50 per cent; the interruption to the intercourse between the United States and the West Indies, having raised the calamities of this town to a level with the general distress, in which it might otherwise have participated less deeply than some of its neighbours, from having been visited less severely with those worse than Egyptian plagues, bank discounts of accommodation notes, renewable *ad infinitum*.

Labour, here, as in all slave-states, falls almost *exclusively* on the slaves; and the porterage of the town, the loading and discharging of ships, &c. are performed by those who are either hired out by their masters, by the week, or allowed, on paying their masters a certain

sum, generally about two dollars per week, to find work for themselves, and retain the surplus.

Allowing for the different effects of a system of this kind, and a system of free labour, and fully aware how slowly, though certainly, the price of labour follows the price of provisions, I was surprised to find, that while the latter has fallen two-thirds, the former has declined less than a fourth. This is owing partly to the circumstance of the owners of the coloured labourers being able to hold out on any particular occasion, against an attempt to reduce their wages; an attempt which can seldom be effectually resisted by persons whose daily labour must obtain their daily bread; partly to conscientious scruples, which deter many holders of hereditary or domestic slaves from selling them for the southern market, and others from buying their fellow-creatures, to hire them out at home like cattle; but principally to such an irregularity of demand, as renders it impossible to adjust the supply to its casual fluctuations, and induces a necessity of including in the remuneration for the hours employed, some compensation for those lost in waiting for employment.

Slaves, who, in Norfolk, are now worth on an average, 300 to 400 dollars each, receive from

the merchant who engages their services, 75 cents per day, and their food. These are enormous wages, where turkies, weighing five or six pounds, will sell for 1s 9d sterling, and wild ducks at 2s per couple; and where flour is four dollars per barrel, Indian corn, their favourite food, forty cents per bushel, and beef and mutton five to eight cents per pound. As sailors, their master can obtain for the slaves 10 dollars per month; and there are many families in Norfolk, especially many widows and orphans, whose property consists entirely of hereditary slaves, whom they hire out, as the only means of obtaining an income;

Letter XXXIII.

New York, 24th Dec. 1820.

I MAY now proceed with our personal narrative, with which I was unwilling to interrupt my remarks on emigration. I left Philadelphia, as I proposed, on the 7th, in the steam-boat, and reached Newcastle, in the State of Delaware, 40 miles down the river, about four o'clock, when we were packed in stages, and driven across the State, to Frenchtown, on the Susquehanna. Here we went on board a very handsome steam-boat, and at three o'clock in the morning, were safely moored to the wharf at Baltimore, 139 miles from Philadelphia. On the 11th, we set out to Norfolk. We had a fine sail down the Chesapeake Bay, and in ten hours had completed more than 100 miles. We accomplished the whole distance, 210 miles, in 22 hours, including two hours in which we came to anchor in the night, where the navigation was difficult. This is rapid travelling. Indeed, I arrived here in less than a fortnight, after leaving Philadelphia; travelling 780 miles,

and spending five days and nights at Baltimore, and two at Norfolk. There was nothing particularly interesting in the few passengers on board the steam-boat. Of our two females, one was a lady from England, who perambulated the deck, clasping in her arms a silken lap-dog, on which she seemed to have fixed her affections; the other, a pretty young woman, whose infant child did not claim from the company half as much attention as the fawning, fondled, officious quadruped of our countrywoman.

I continued on deck the greater part both of the day and night, unwilling to miss any of this magnificent bay, from seven to twenty miles wide, and more than 200 miles long, from the mouth of the Susquehanna to the sea, and receiving in its bosom, *I believe*, a greater number of extensive rivers than any bay in the known world. It was a beautiful moonlight night, with a most refreshing sea-breeze; and as I walked the deck alone at midnight, I almost felt as if I was homeward-bound, and was bidding a final adieu to the trans-Atlantic world. In imagination, I ascended the rivers, which supplied me with many interesting subjects of reflection, although they have received no poetical licence to converse, like the Severn and the Wye. And first, the Susquehanna, with all the

interesting associations connected with its classical waters, and all the melancholy recollections they suggest of Wyoming, Gertrude, Albert, Waldegrave, and Outalissi; then the Potowmac, which conducted me to Woodlawn, Mount Vernon, and General Washington's tomb, Washington; and the beautiful scenery at Harper's Ferry, where, assisted by the Shenandoah, it forces its way through the Blue Mountains; then the Rappahannock, which I had crossed at its falls; then York River; but here I was a little crest-fallen; for it was at Yorktown, on this river, you will recollect, that Lord Cornwallis, in 1781, was compelled to surrender himself and his army, and with it the last hope of success, in that ill-advised and unnatural contest—not that I regretted the issue; but it is always humiliating to be defeated; and on this occasion, you will remember, he was obliged to march out of the town with cased colours, and shouldered arms—having refused to his prisoner, General Lincoln, the honour of marching out of Charleston, with colours flying.

The next river was James' River, which was the companion of our way, in the rich valley of the Shenandoah, and our subsequent route to Richmond. It received, in its course, the Appomatox, which we crossed at Petersburgh,

and the Rivannah, which threatened to flow over our horses' backs as we waded through it, below Monticello, at the very spot where it carried away Lieutenant Hall and his Jersey waggon, after *his* visit to Mr. Jefferson. James' River is from 20 to 30 miles wide at its mouth, as I was told, and some of the other rivers from 10 to 15, or 20. As I contemplated our old companions, which we had often forded near their sources, in the summer, transformed into magnificent rivers, which might carry the British Navy on their bosoms, foaming with rage, and agitated with expiring struggles, to escape annihilation in this inland sea, I was amused by tracing them to their humble origin, in the neighbourhood of the Blue Mountains, where, tranquil and unambitious, they pursued their silent course—reflecting, from their unruffled surface, the pendant foliage, or barren cliffs, or blessing with beauty and fertility the lovely vallies through which they flowed.

We reached Norfolk at seven o'clock in the morning; and after breakfast, I went to call on the friends whom I came to see, and at whose house I afterwards met a pleasant party at dinner. Norfolk is admirably situated as a commercial town; but the country round it, as far as the eye can reach, and indeed for a great

distance up the Chesapeake, as we observed in sailing down, is one continued pine forest, on a a flat sandy shore—a regular pine barren—such as I described in my route to Charleston, and my frequent allusion to which made you more tired of them, I dare say, than I was; for the novelty of such scenery rendered them interesting to me to the last. Norfolk, indeed, is within the limits of what is called the Southern Forest, which embraced the maritime ports of Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, and consists principally of pine, cedar, and cypress.

Norfolk is within 12 miles of the celebrated dismal swamp, which I wished exceedingly to see; but my time did not allow me to gratify my inclination. This swamp is said to cover 130,000 acres, and is for the most part covered with cypress trees.

The cypress trees, which I saw in great perfection in the swamps in the south, are very majestic, but I think not nearly so beautiful as the elms of New England. They are thus described by Bartram:—"The Cupressus Disticha stands in the first order of North American trees. Its majestic stature is surprising, and on approaching it we are struck with a kind of awe at beholding the stateliness of the trunk, lifting its cumbrous top towards the skies, and casting

a wide shade upon the ground, as a dark intervening cloud, which, for a time, excludes the rays of the sun. The delicacy of its colour, and the texture of its leaves, exceed every thing in vegetation. It generally grows in the water, or in low flat lands, near the banks of great rivers, and lakes that are covered for a great part of the year with two or three feet depth of water; and that part of the trunk which is subject to be under water, and two or three, or five feet higher up, is greatly enlarged by prodigious buttresses, or pilasters, which, in full grown trees, project out on every side to such a distance, that several men might hide themselves in the hollows between. Every pilaster terminates under ground, in a very large, string, serpentine root, which strikes off, and branches every way just under the surface of the ground; and from these roots grow woody cones, called cypress knees, four, five, or six inches high, and from six to 24 inches in diameter at their bases. The large ones are hollow, and serve very well for bee-hives; a small space of the tree itself is hollow, nearly as high as the buttresses. From this place, the tree, as it were, takes another beginning, forming a grand, straight column, 80 or 90 feet high. When the planters fell these mighty trees, they raise a stage round

them as high as to reach above the buttresses; on this stage, eight or ten negroes ascend with their axes, and fall to work round its trunk. I have seen trunks of these trees that would measure eight, ten, or twelve feet in diameter, for 40 or 50 feet straight shaft."

While at Norfolk, I felt as if I was quite in a southern climate again. Indeed, I was within 25 miles of Carolina. It was a warm Carolinian winter's day, although they had, a short time previously, had snow 10 inches deep—a rare occurrence. But it was the black population, and the trees, called the Pride of India, which reminded me of the South. The latter are much valued by the inhabitants for their shade; but I have formed such an indissoluble association between them and the yellow fever, from finding them so generally forming avenues in the streets of the southern towns, that I have quite an antipathy to them, and their very fragrance appears to me sickly. As for the slave-population, the sight is never agreeable. They are often, however, merry enough, and it would have humbled such of our Bond-street loungers, as aspire to the title, to hear, as I did, a little slave call his companion a dandy, because he happened to have rather a smarter handkerchief round his neck than himself.

We left Norfolk at nine o'clock, on the 14th. It was a lovely morning, without a cloud in the sky, or a ripple on the sea. We soon arrived in Hampton Roads, where the view was enlivened by the white sails we saw in every direction. Some in the distant horizon, just vanishing from the sight, and some within hail. We spoke one little sloop, out from the West Indies 18 days. We soon afterwards passed the Constitution, for London, and saw vessels of every description, from the beautiful and buccaneering Baltimore schooners, whose raking masts, like the ears of a sly and vicious horse, seemed to bode no good, to the swift little boats, in which the forests of Virginia, like "Birnam Wood," were hastening to Baltimore, in the shape of fuel.

We went the first 17 miles in an hour and twenty minutes, and proceeded rapidly, until twelve o'clock, when a fog suddenly surrounding us, and our captain not daring to proceed, we came most unwillingly to anchor, where we remained till seven o'clock the next morning. I have had so few disappointments since I landed, that I tried to reconcile myself easily to the delay, and sat down to read the Federalist till tea, when I took up the Abbott, which I had just received from England. It

kept me up till two o'clock in the morning—sitting by the stove, and occasionally going on deck to see whether the fog had dispersed. We reached Baltimore early on the morning of the 16th; and I spent the day with some most estimable friends, of whom I took my final leave with sincere regret. On the 18th, we set out at three o'clock in the morning, in an open stage waggon, having decided to return to Philadelphia through York and Lancaster, instead of the old steam-boat route, as it would occupy no more time. The morning was bitterly cold; and as the roads were a sheet of ice, and our horses unprepared, we advanced only three miles an hour, for several hours, when we arrived at a German's, where we procured breakfast and fresh horses.

The face of the country, for the thirty miles we travelled in Maryland, presents, like almost every other part of that State which I have seen, a beautiful specimen of hill and dale, of which, from one-third to one-half is woodland, young vigorous trees, of second growth, so nearly of the same size, and so regularly disposed, that they perpetually suggest the idea that they have been planted by the hand of man. I know no part of England which would give you a precise idea of Maryland hill and dale.—

Sometimes, the scenery reminded me of the forest lands near Loughborough; but the undulations are bolder, and succeed each other in interesting variety, as far as the horizon; sometimes, of Derbyshire—Ashbourne for instance; but the hills are less frequently broken by abrupt and precipitous cliffs, and the dales not so often contracted into deep romantic vallies. About 30 miles from Baltimore, we entered York county, in the State of Pennsylvania. For the first few miles, the houses were of hewn log and plaster, like those of Maryland; afterwards of stone and brick. As we advanced, the face of the country, still beautiful, principally hill and dale, began to exhibit a much higher state of cultivation, and the houses assumed a more comfortable and prosperous appearance. We now obtained a sight of the fine barns for which the Germans are celebrated, and of which we had heard much. The land was worth from 10 to 50 dollars per acre, in farms of from 50 to 200 acres, occupied almost exclusively by German proprietors. The instances of land being rented were rare; and in those cases the landlord usually received half the gross produce for rent. I was told, (and although I do not vouch for the entire accuracy of all the "*on dits*" I send you; on subjects like this, I seldom give them;

unless I have had an opportunity of cross-examination,) that the less opulent farmers in this neighbourhood expend scarcely any money in articles of consumption, either vesting their property in land, or hoarding it in a safe place. They are stated to make their own cotton and woollen clothes, their stockings, shirts, and sheetings; exchanging wool with the hatter for hats, leather with the tanner for shoes, substituting rye for coffee, (now partially employed even in some of the cities, where it is sold in the shops,) using no tea, and very little sugar, which little they procure in exchange for the produce of their fine orchards. The best informed of them teach their children in the evenings; and sometimes they agree to board a schoolmaster at their houses gratuitously, and in succession, thus enabling him to reduce his terms to a mere trifle. They are said to be sociable, and very sensible of the comfort and independence of their condition.

Our driver on this part of the road, had emigrated from Macclesfield, in Cheshire, where he drove a chaise, and knew many of our friends there. For some time he drove the Lancaster mail from Preston. He came out, he said, in his "*uniformal* dress of an English coachman," with a broad hat, long great coat,

woollen-cord breeches, and jockey boots; all which he has discarded for an uncharacteristic, shabby blue coat, black waistcoat, and blue pantaloons. He procured employment in two days; and his gains have averaged, for the last two years, 26 dollars per month, with part of his board. I told him that I hoped, when he made his bargain, he did not count upon any money from the passengers; he said, "Oh no! 'Please to remember the coachman,' would not do here; it would be degrading to ask; although genteel people sometimes press me to take something, which I do not refuse." After this hint, I did not hesitate to follow the natural impulse I felt to give an old Lancaster driver a trifle, and some rum and water. As he seemed a very decent, sensible man, I asked him various questions, in such a way as to give no particular direction to his answers, and found his ideas of the country and people were very similar to my own. To a question, whether he found the Americans more or less civil than the English, he replied, "I think they are more accommodating and friendly, and more ready to oblige either a stranger or one another; but, to be sure, they have always been in the habit of helping a neighbour, and have never known *the depravity like* of a

condition which made them obliged to look to themselves. I was surprised to see them so friendly to every-body."

He quite agreed with me, that labourers, *generally* speaking, have no reasonable prospect of improving their condition, however uncomfortable, by coming hither—I mean to the *Atlantic* States; in the Western country, industry and self-denial will force their way. Very superior merit, or singular good fortune, may still raise some to independence even here; but five out of ten may wander about for weeks or months, in the agricultural districts of Pennsylvania, without finding regular employment, or the means of supporting themselves by their labour. One of our passengers, a respectable-looking man, said, that a friend of his had been applied to by a *good* labourer whose character he had long known, offering to work till the spring, for his food, which offer was declined. In the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, I heard of some instances of less skilful labourers making similar applications in vain.

About 3 o'clock we stopped to dine at York, a town not unlike Loughborough, at a distance. We were not expected; and though there were only two passengers who dined, the landlord made many apologies for producing

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nothing but a beefsteak, veal cutlet, and tart, instead of the turkey, ham, and two or three joints of meat usually set on the table, even for a small party. Immediately on leaving York, we entered a beautiful and interesting valley, called "Creek Valley," where the land is said to be as good as in almost any part of the United States. On each side of the road were fine large fields, in a high state of cultivation. One of the passengers, well acquainted with the neighbourhood, mentioned to me the value of the several estates as we passed. The first, rather more than three hundred acres in extent, (with a house, and extensive barns and stabling, which, together, cost about 10,000 dollars,) were sold, two years since, at 260 dollars per acre. It would, even now, bring 200, the fatal effects of the paper-system having been almost entirely averted from this district, either by the prudence of the bank directors, or, what is more likely, the inveterate habits of the German farmers, which did not readily become reconciled to a flimsy substitute for gold. The next farm consisted of twenty-five acres, with a new brick house, and a decent frame-barn, the erection of which would cost, my informant thought, more than 4000 dollars. A gentleman, whom he pointed out

to me, had just offered 7000 dollars for the whole, which were refused. The next farm was one of 150 acres, with out-buildings, but in high cultivation, and one-fifth woodland. It had been sold the preceding week at 140 dollars per acre. In this well-settled country woodland is dearer than cleared land. The next was a large estate, which a German had just sold to his sons at 105 dollars per acre, that they might give their sisters, as a marriage portion, their equal share, as is usual with them. The sons-in-law thought the sale too low. All these estates are within 50 miles of Baltimore, which the farmers consider their market, and speak of as very near.

Ten miles from York we passed the beautiful and classical Susquehanna, on a fine bridge, a mile and a quarter long; but the night was closing in, and the clouds, which obscured the moon, prevented our seeing distinctly the scenery of this noble river. We had been frequently gratified during the day, by the view of a distinct chain of the Blue Mountains in the horizon. We reached Lancaster, a fine *old* town, (all things are by comparison,) at nine o'clock, having been 18 hours in completing the 70 miles from Baltimore. We left Lancaster at four o'clock the next morning, and proceeded in the

dark 14 miles to breakfast. To my great mortification, it was so cloudy and misty during a great part of the day, that my view was circumscribed. We still continued, however, to see handsome barns, substantial houses, and beautifully cultivated fields. From the time we left Lancaster, we were on the great Pittsburgh road, which leads to Philadelphia, through the "Great Valley," as it is called; the land is for the most part excellent, yielding from 25 to 30 bushels of wheat, and 30 to 40 of Indian corn, to the acre. The farmers, in the county of Lancaster, unlike those of York, are, I was told, deeply in debt; the treacherous paper system having been incautiously admitted.

The country through which we passed during the day's ride, as far as we could see on each side of the road, (the fog contracting our view within narrow limits,) might be compared with the richest part of England, reminding me sometimes of Ribblesdale, sometimes of Warwickshire, sometimes of Gloucestershire. The best houses and barns are of stone, the largest houses being generally taverns; and the buildings on the farms (which are from two to three or five hundred acres in extent,) are, perhaps, worth from 4,000 to 20,000 dollars. There were few (till we approached Philadelphia scarcely any) that could

be called gentlemen's houses, or which give one the idea of being in the vicinity of educated, or well-bred society. One, between 30 and 40 miles from Philadelphia, exhibited traces of taste and elegance in the front of the house and garden: the out-buildings seemed complete and extensive. My companion said, the whole of the buildings might cost, with the house furnished, 7,000 dollars; and 100 acres of land, in high cultivation, in the vicinity, 5,000 dollars more. Now, I think, with good management on the farm, a family might live comfortably, with 18,000 dollars in addition; not with less than that sum, nor with so little, if there were boarding-school expenses to pay, or any charges, except those strictly domestic. Now, let us suppose that Mr. Birkbeck had settled there:—his family, except as regards society, would scarcely have been conscious that they were transplanted: he would have felt at home, in a cultivated country, instead of a novice in the prairies; and his agricultural skill might have been profitably exerted in a congenial sphere: 30,000 dollars out of the 35,000, which he is said to have brought with him, would have been disposed of in a form at least as convertible as at present. I much doubt whether his whole property, at the end of ten years, including the

5,000 dollars left to accumulate with compound interest, would not have been of more value than it will now prove, and have commanded as many cultivated and uncleared acres in Illinois, as he will possess, at the expiration of that period. If he should not be benefited, or be only partially so, by the remissions of price proposed by the Government to be afforded to purchasers of public lands, (which will depend on the state of his instalments,) or if his settlement continue unpopular, he may actually lose by his lands, the reduction of three-quarter dollars per ann. which Government contemplate in the price of vacant land, of course reducing the value of those he has entered. This, however, is a speculation for which I have no sufficient data; but I was led to think a little on the subject, on passing these fine Pennsylvanian farms. It appears to me, that the "*aliquid immensum infinitumque*," which played round the youthful imagination of Cicero, and conducted that celebrated orator into regions of truth and beauty, had taken possession of the mind of Mr. Birkbeck, and led him, less courteously, into the prairies of Illinois, where I have no doubt it has long since vanished, like an ignis-fatuus, leaving him probably not a little mortified at having been beguiled by an insidious

phantom, which beckoned him to fame and fortune in the Western wilds.

We reached Philadelphia, 60 miles from Lancaster, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and found our party at the boarding-house increased by the arrival of a gentleman and lady, and three daughters, from Lexington, in Kentucky, who, having hastily left a comfortable estate in the vicinity of London, had become tired of the Western wilderness, and had returned to the Atlantic States, *beginning to think that, to persons in their easy circumstances, at least, there was no place like Old England, after all.*

Letter XXXIV.

New-York, 1st January, 1821.

I HAD expected, ere this, to have been within a few days' sail of my native shores, but circumstances, to which I have already adverted, have induced me to postpone my return a few weeks. I was at first disappointed, to find that it would protract my absence from home, but as it will give me an opportunity of seeing more of the New England States, I probably shall not ultimately regret it. I arrived here on the 1st December, and took up my abode at the Mechanic Hall. Our party at the common table, which is always most handsomely provided, is composed principally of two or three manufacturers from Yorkshire or Lancashire, an English merchant or two, and a captain of the British navy. We much miss the Carolinians and Georgians, who, in the summer and autumn, form so agreeable an addition, in their way to and from Canada and the Springs. I am not much in the hotel, however, for New York is a most hospitable place. The influx of strangers into this city, from all

parts of the world, is perfectly astonishing, as you will see by the statement which I shall attach to this letter; and the society, as might naturally be expected, is very miscellaneous. There is, however, as you will have seen from the detail of my visits, which I have given you in a former letter, some very good society, and in many of the old families, whose names have been rendered familiar to you by Mrs. Grant, there is much intelligence and refinement. In the mass of the mercantile community, however, I am disposed to believe, that there is less mental cultivation than in Boston, and less refinement than in Philadelphia.

The young ladies, who are fond of the French style, are accused by the females of Philadelphia, of dressing in a more showy and expensive manner, but with less taste than themselves. I will not embroil myself in this delicate dispute, but will merely observe, that these gay, light-hearted, delicate, pretty, young creatures, who seem to brave the coldest weather, in light dresses, in their daily promenade in Broadway, bent on amusement, and without a care, exchange, I am told, their Elysian dreams, for the cold realities of life, without one parting sigh, and discharge, with assiduity and affection, the duties of

those domestic relations into which they enter at so very early an age. Their gay appearance in the streets, the delicious breezes from the beautiful bay, the purity of the atmosphere, and the serenity of the clear blue sky, are all calculated to give a stranger a very agreeable impression of New York, which is confirmed by the air of industry and animation which pervade it.

At present, the ground is covered with snow, and all is bright and beautiful after yesterday's storm. Broadway exhibits the gayest scene you can conceive. Painted sleighs, with scarlet cloth and buffalo skins, are dashing along in all directions, at a prodigious speed; some with two horses abreast; some harnessed as tandems, and others with four in hand. Every body seems to make the most of the snow while it lasts, and night does not put an end to the festivity. The horses have a string of bells round their necks; and in these fine moon-light nights I hear them dashing away long after midnight.

A few evenings since, I joined a merry party, in an excursion of a few miles into the country, where we drank tea at a friend's house, and returned to New York about 10 o'clock; meeting, as we approached the city,

many parties of ladies and gentlemen. The next day, as I was passing down Broadway, a party passed me, in a sleigh, who soon afterwards stopped and invited me to join them. I found it was my agreeable friends ———, ———, who were going to their country-seat, to take leave of some of the younger branches of the family, who were setting out on an expedition, in a sleigh, to another country-seat, 100 miles distant. I joined them gladly, and we had a delightful ride of nine miles, along the banks of the Hudson River; whose precipitous cliffs, covered with frozen snow, formed a fine winter's scene. The young party had preceded us about an hour, to prepare their horses; and we found them practising their four-in-hand before the door. After taking a hasty meal together, we clad the ladies in their furs, and fixed them in their open sleigh, when they dashed off through the snow, intending to cross the Hudson on the ice.—In some of the streets in the town, the snow has drifted extremely; and you would have been amused the other night, to see me going from a dinner party, in company with the Mayor, to the City Hotel, where there was a public meeting of the Society for Preventing Pauperism. It was with the greatest difficulty we forced our

sleigh; sometimes over, and sometimes through the snow, which was lying in waves, four or five feet high. There was a pretty good meeting, but the report was less interesting than the one I heard last year; which, I believe, excited some attention in England, and was republished there. That, contained sound general views; while this year's Report stated little, but what the Committee had *not* done. I felt disposed to quarrel with some of the speakers, who told some unpleasant truths about pauperism in England. One of them, to whom I was introduced, as an Englishman, observed, "he hoped he had said nothing of my country that would displease me." I replied, "that an Englishman ought always to feel, that he can *well afford* to hear some painful truths respecting *his* country without being discomposed.

One of the speakers said, "that he challenged the meeting to produce one city in Europe, (England excepted,) of the same extent as New York, where pauperism prevailed in the same degree. There was not one; and when such men as Roscoe, Chalmers, and Mackintosh, gave their attention to the subject, surely the inhabitants of New York would think it worthy of their consideration."

I think I never told you that I had an opportunity, on New Year's Day, of witnessing and joining in the old Dutch custom of running the round of complimentary calls, immediately after church. We must literally run, if we have a tolerably extensive acquaintance, for we call on every lady we know, and always find her *sitting up* to receive company, as a matter of course, with cake and wine on the table. It is quite ridiculous to see crowds in the streets, all urging their rapid course, as if they were couriers on important business, and looking eagerly at their lists, to see that they make no omissions. They stay only two or three minutes at a place, sometimes not even sitting down; and in several instances, the lady of the house told me, that she did not know the parties who had just retired.

This custom, no doubt, had its origin in good feeling, which prompted the expression of the best wishes of the season; and one of its principal advantages is, that it affords persons an opportunity of keeping up an acquaintance, without involving more than a yearly recognition, and of making advances after a coolness without much sacrifice of feeling.

The various institutions of this city and its vicinity, are so well known to you, that I will

not describe them. They are very numerous, and some of them admirably conducted.*

I propose setting out in the morning, to Newhaven, on my excursion to New England, after spending three weeks here very agreeably, and forming several valuable and interesting acquaintances.

At the house of one of the most agreeable of my new friends, I lately heard a discussion on the merits of Mr. Jeffrey's admirable reply to Mr. Walsh, in the Edinburgh Review. It appeared to be generally approved; and some of those eminent men, whose opinions were of most value, expressed their warm approbation of it. I have met some persons who do not like it; but it appears to me, to place the question so cleverly on its proper footing, and to exhibit such a fine specimen of dignified moderation, that every candid and reasonable American ought to be fully satisfied with it. As for those lovers of superlatives, whose craving appetites nothing will satisfy but imputed

* The particulars which I had noted, respecting the prisons in the Northern States, are so much less recent, and on that account as well as on others, so much less valuable and interesting, than those contained in Mr. Roscoe's pamphlet, already alluded to, entitled "Additional Observations on Penal Jurisprudence," that I must beg leave to refer to the work of that enlightened and distinguished friend of humanity.

perfection, their opinions are of little consequence to any but themselves.

During dinner, at the house I alluded to, our host had a letter presented to him, which he opened and read. As soon as the servants had retired, he told us that it was addressed to one of the black servants, but he had broken the seal without examining the direction. Its contents were as follow:—"Your company is requested at my house, on the 27th instant, to a ball and supper—50 cents." I suppose the poor fellow to whom it was addressed, and who presented it to Mr. ——, could not read. The negroes always seem ready for a frolic, as it is called.

Providence, 30th Jan. 1821.—We left New York as we proposed, on the 25th, and after an extremely cold ride, arrived at Newhaven late the same evening. The next morning, early, I went to visit Dr. Morse, who had kindly called upon me, at New York, to invite me to stay some days with him. This I could not have done, even if I had felt disposed to trespass so far on his hospitality; but I was much gratified by this opportunity of conversing with him for an hour or two.

On leaving Dr. Morse, I went to call on Mr. Silliman, the Professor of Chemistry and

Mineralogy, at Yale College, at Newhaven, and the writer of Travels in England, and more recently, in Canada. He was sitting with his wife, and gave me a most friendly reception. Our conversation turned on Mr. Roscoe, whom he had seen in England; on the dispositions of England and America towards each other, &c. &c. After a short sit, and an engagement to visit the College with him, in the afternoon, and to drink tea with him, I returned to Dr. Morse's to dinner; when I was introduced to the family. During dinner, and afterwards, in the Doctor's study, I had a good deal of conversation with him, on the subject of the progress of Unitarianism in the United States; but the substance of this conversation I must reserve for my letter to Mr. Silliman.

After dinner, Mr. Silliman called for me in his sleigh to take me to the College. While sitting a minute or two, he and Dr. Morse compared their thermometers. The one had been at —11°, and the other —12° F; and Mr. S. mentioned, that in one part of the town a thermometer had stood at —16° F. He also said that he did not know that such a degree of cold was on record here. We heard that a child had been frozen to death in bed the preceding night, and that a passenger had been taken dead out

of the stage some miles distant. I observe, by the newspaper, that at Springfield, not far from here, the thermometer was at — 23°, and at Northampton — 26° F.

It was intensely cold in the apartments of the College, as we went through them. Yale College is the largest Collegiate Establishment in the United States, except Cambridge, whose students are about equal in number. Every thing connected with it seems to be on a most respectable scale, and would astonish some of our countrymen, who consider stores and dwelling-houses as the only buildings in America. It was founded in 1700, and I could almost have fancied myself at one of our Universities, while in a lecture-room, hung with paintings in the old English costume; and among which there is one of George II. in his royal robes, and another of Bishop Berkeley, with his fellow-passengers, as large as life. You probably recollect the Bishop's ardent and generous efforts for the promotion of literature on this side of the Atlantic, where he spent some years in the prosecution of his favourite design. On his return home, he sent a valuable collection of books to Yale College, which I saw in one division of the library, appropriated for their reception, under the head of "Berkeley," and the "Dean's bounty,"

(for he was then a Dean,) the produce of lands, which, appropriated to the purpose, support three Scholarships, which are bestowed on the three best classical scholars of the year.

I felt much interested in contemplating an University, which seems destined to have a large share in forming the churches of the American people.*

We returned to Mr. Silliman's to tea, where Dr. Morse and his two sons joined us. I found that Dr. M. was engaged in drawing up a report on the state of the Indians, to be submitted to Congress. He had been selected by the President to travel among the Indians with reference to this object, in consequence of having been long employed by a society in Scotland, in the promotion of their benevolent designs among some of the northern tribes. He has devoted a very long and very active life to the interests of literature and religion, in his infant country, combining the attainments of a scholar, with the apostolic zeal of a missionary, and often exchanging domestic endearments and literary ease for the perils of the wilderness, and the privations of solitary journies in swamps and

* For a particular account of the Colleges of the United States, see Duncan's Travels; also Appendix B.

forests. When Mr. Hall's sermon on Infidelity appeared, he printed an edition at his own expense, although in very moderate circumstances; and has since endeavoured to introduce among his countrymen a high standard of practical excellence, by exhibiting to their view that extraordinary combination of the lowly and the splendid virtues of the Christian character, which adorned the life, and has embalmed the memory, of the late Mr. Reynolds, of Bristol. Our conversation during tea was on general topics; and after tea, I had a long tête-à-tête with Dr. M. who has travelled a great deal, and is very entertaining.

About nine o'clock, Mr. S. sent me home in his sleigh, and the cold deterred me from attempting to travel at night. The next morning, it was quite warm, and at eight o'clock I set out in the stage; and passing through Derham and Middleton, reached Hartford, 34 miles, at five o'clock in the evening. As we entered the Connecticut Valley, and approached Middleton, on the Connecticut river, about one-third of a mile broad, the country became very interesting, and some of the views magnificent. The Valley is from 20 to 30 miles wide, and is the same which you may remember me to have

crossed, 100 or 150 miles higher, to Hanover, the day that I arrived at Concord, whence I wrote to you in the summer.

Hartford is a pretty New England town, beautifully situated. The principal street, as usual, is very long, very wide, and lined with two rows of American elms, which form a handsome avenue. I travelled about for half an hour after my arrival, and then returned to my inn, where the civility of the landlord formed a strong and pleasing contrast to the apathy of my Newhaven host. Indeed, it was an excellent inn, perhaps the best, or nearly so, that I have seen in America; the chamber was so neat and well-furnished, that it reminded me of home, and my little tea-tray, (for the landlord indulged me, and I indulged myself, with my tea in my own room for once,) exhibited a degree of taste in the disposition of its china, and cut-glass preserve dishes, which would have astonished some of my countrymen, if they could have seen them.

Here, as at Concord, I found two large handsome volumes of Scott's Bible, in the mahogany drawers. After tea, I wrote to ——, and the following morning, (Sunday,) I attended the Episcopal Church. It was so lined with *Christmas*,

either winding round the pillars, or hung in festoons round the gallery, that it resembled a grove. The subject of the sermon was an exposition, or vindication of the Liturgy, and my heart warmed when I heard the minister enumerate, among its claims to the affectionate regard of the congregation, "the opportunity which it afforded them of worshipping in the very words in which saints had, for centuries, breathed their devotions in the land of their fathers, and of still offering their incense in the same censer with their brethren in Britain, that brighter star in the firmament of the Reformation." In the afternoon, I attended the Presbyterian, or Scotch Calvinistic Church, when we had an excellent sermon. At the close of the service, the minister announced that it was the wish of many of the congregation, that the following Friday should be set apart for prayer and fasting; and that it was expected it would be observed by the members of the church. I felt that I was among the descendants of the Puritanic exiles, (for such were many of them, rather than emigrants,) and I could not but breathe an earnest wish, that the spirit of an Eliott might still linger in the land which preserved these vestiges of more devotional times.—The Presbyterian church was larger and handsomer

than Mr. ———'s chapel; the Episcopalian on a par with St. ——; and there was nothing to distinguish the congregations from that of either of them. At noon, I walked for an hour, up the valley; the soft air, and the surrounding scenery, in its winter garb, reminded me strongly of some of our most beautiful mild winter days.

I find, in looking over my letter, that I have said nothing of the *town* of Newhaven. It is the prettiest town I have seen in this country, and I do not remember one that I think prettier in England. One of the churches has a Gothic tower, which, from its reminding me so strongly of home, both when I saw it from the bay, in October, and during this visit, I think it must be the only one I have seen in America; and as I cannot recollect any other, I suppose it is.—I left Hartford at 5 o'clock on Monday morning, a lovely spring-like day, and arrived here, (Providence, Rhode Island,) 70 miles distant, at the same hour in the evening; the road being in excellent order for sleighing.

The New York papers mention a fleet of ships being off, so that I hope, on my arrival in three or four days, at New Bedford, to receive my letters.

The following is the statement that I promised to attach to this letter; it is copied from a New York newspaper.

Thirty-five thousand five hundred and sixty passengers arrived at the port of New York, from the 1st of March, 1818, to the 11th of December, 1819, as entered at the Mayor's office.

Americans	16,628	Swiss	372
English	7629	Norwegians	3
Irish	6067	Swedes	28
French	930	Portuguese	54
Scotch	1492	Africans	5
Germans	499	Prussians	48
Spanish	217	Sardinians	3
Hollanders	155	Welshmen	590
Italians	103	Danes	97

Letter XXXV.

Providence, 31st Jan. 1821.

On the state of public affairs in England, I have no heart to write, though I am sanguine enough to feel considerable confidence in the present stability and the future prosperity of my native country, as well as in her permanent claims to the attachment and veneration of every friend of the human race; but I sometimes feel humbled among foreigners, engaged in the perpetual discussion of the late lamentable proceedings in Parliament, and at seeing the Queen at the head of a column in every provincial paper. As soon as we are known to be Englishmen, (and we are soon recognized as such,) the first question at every pot-house is, "Well, and what are you going to do with your Queen?"—Even the old widows, in the Asylum in Philadelphia, took a private opportunity, while my conductor's back was turned, to squeeze out of me all the information they could on the subject. I grieve to think how the details of these proceedings have penetrated into the remotest corners of the Union. The fate of the Bill, however,

has impressed the people of this country generally with a far more correct idea than they formerly entertained of the degree of popular liberty in England—a topic on which I have almost uniformly found them extremely ignorant.

This place was founded by the celebrated Roger Williams, and a few of his people, who left Massachusetts "to seek their providences," as they called it, when their pastor was banished. The life of this singular man throws much light on the history of the age and country in which he lived—a history which should be deeply studied by all who wish to trace the inconsistencies of human character, and the anomalies of the human mind. They will learn from the contemplation of the principal actors in the scenes which that history presents, how good sense may sometimes consist with fanaticism, generosity of sentiment, with party feeling, practical liberality, with theoretical bigotry, extended views of human improvement, and an ardent desire to advance the general interests of the human race, with occasional acts of intolerance and persecution, and a pertinacious adherence to the chilling tenets of a narrow creed.*

* "Roger Williams was a native of Wales, and emigrated to New England, in 1630. He was then a young man, of

My letter to —— left us safely arrived at Providence. The following day I dined *en famille* (a very unusual thing in America,) with

austere life and popular manners, full of reading, skilled in controversy, and gifted with a rapid, copious, and vehement eloquence. The writers of those days represent him as being full of turbulent and singular opinions, 'and the whole country,' saith the quaint Cotton Mather, 'was soon like to be set on fire by the rapid motion of a wind-mill in the head of this one man.' To his fervent zeal for liberty of opinion, this singular man united an equal degree of tenacity to every article of his own narrow creed. He objected to the custom of returning thanks after meat, as, in some manner, involving a corruption of primitive and pure worship; he refused to join any of the churches in Boston, unless they would first make a public and solemn declaration of their repentance for having communed with the church of England; and when his doctrines of religious liberty were condemned by the clergy, he wrote to his own church at Salem, 'that if they would not separate as well from the churches of New England, as of Old, he would separate from them.'

"All his peculiar opinions, whether true or erroneous, were alike offensive to his puritan brethren, and controversy soon waxed warm. Some logicians, more tolerant or politic than the rest, attempted to reconcile the disputants by a whimsical, and not very intelligible sophism. They approved not, said they, of persecuting men for conscience sake, but solely of correcting them for sinning against conscience; and so not persecuting, but punishing heretics. Williams was not a man who could be imposed upon by words, or intimidated by threats; and he accordingly persevered in inculcating his doctrines publicly and vehemently. The clergy, after having endeavoured in vain to shake him by argument and remonstrance, at last determined to call in the aid of the civil autho-

Mr. ——, and the succeeding one, with the principal merchant, *General* ——, who is, probably, at this moment more extensively engaged

rity; and the General Court, after due consideration of the case, passed sentence of banishment upon him, or, as they phrased it, 'ordered his removal out of the jurisdiction of the Court.' Some of the men in power had determined that he should be sent to England; but, when they sent to take him, they found that, with his usual spirit of resolute independence, he had already departed, no one knew whither, accompanied by a few of his people, who, to use their own language, had gone with their beloved pastor 'to seek their providences.' When compelled to leave Massachusetts, after some wanderings, he pitched his tent at a place, to which he gave the name of Providence, and there became the founder and legislator of the colony of Rhode Island. There he continued to rule, sometimes as the governor, and always as the guide and father of the settlement, for 48 years, employing himself in acts of kindness to his former enemies, affording relief to the distressed, and offering an asylum to the persecuted.

"It should also be remembered, to the honour of Roger Williams, that no one of the early colonists, without excepting William Penn himself, equalled him in justice and benevolence towards the Indians. He laboured incessantly, and with much success, to enlighten and conciliate them; and by this means acquired a personal influence among them, which he had frequently the enviable satisfaction of exerting in behalf of those who had banished him. It is not the least remarkable or characteristic incident of his varied life, that within one year after his exile, and while he was yet hot with controversy, and indignant at his wrongs, his first interference with the affairs of his former colony was to protect its frontier settlements from an Indian massacre."—*Verplank's Discourses.*

in the China trade, than any other person in the country. He is said to be concerned in 20 ships round the Cape, and is the exclusive owner of about 5000 tons, as I was informed, in two different quarters. The ———, of Boston, who have, till lately, been the most extensive China merchants, own 4000 tons, and I believe 16,000 is the extent of the trade.

You will be aware, that details of this kind must always be received with great caution; and you will readily conceive, that it is with no small mortification that I hear these American merchants talk of sending their ships to London and Liverpool, to take in goods or specie, with which to purchase tea for the supply of European ports, almost within sight of our own shores. They often taunt me, by asking me what our Government can possibly mean by prohibiting us from engaging in a profitable trade, which is open to them and to all the world; or where can be our boasted liberties, while we tamely submit to the infraction of our natural rights, to supply a monopoly as absurd as it is unjust, and to humour the caprice of a Company, who exclude their fellow-subjects from a branch of commerce, which they do not pursue themselves, but leave to the enterprize of foreigners, or commercial rivals. On

such occasions, I can only reply, that both our Government and People are growing wiser, and that if the charter of the East India Company be renewed, when it next expires, I will allow them to infer, that the people of England have little influence in the administration of their own affairs.

I had ordered a sleigh to come after dinner, to take me to Pawtucket, four miles distant; the seat of the manufactures which have so long rendered Providence celebrated as a manufacturing town. From the want of punctuality in the cook, however, it was too dark, on my arrival there, to see more than the outside of the mills. The village had something of the uninviting appearance of Stockport or Bolton. I returned in time to drink tea at Mr. ———'s. He told me, that Slater, (an old workman of Sir Richard Arkwright,) who first introduced cotton-spinning into the United States, is still living at Pawtucket, though very old. He came over about 1789, but did not succeed for three or four years. He and his partners have made a handsome fortune in the business, though not very extensively engaged in it. The number of spindles in the immediate neighbourhood of Providence, I was told, is from 100,000 to 130,000, and the annual consump-

tion of cotton about 15,000 bales, and increasing.*—The accommodations at Providence are miserable; and I saw the town to great disadvantage, the weather being very wet, and the streets inundated with melted snow. The small window-panes and narrow streets, gave it more the appearance of a dirty manufacturing town, than any I had before seen in America.

The next morning, 1st February, I set out for Newport, and was disappointed to find that General ——, who had arranged to accompany me thither, (one of his ships having just arrived,) was prevented by indisposition. Our miserable stage was soon crowded with seafaring people; and although the driver tried to force another upon us, urging that he was a *light* man, the passengers' *guessed* we were stowed close enough, and we proceeded. The

* "There are now (1821) more than 100 cotton factories in Rhode Island, and the adjacent parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts, the business of which is transacted principally at Providence: about 10 vessels are constantly employed in the exportation of cotton goods."—*Morse's Universal Gazetteer.*

I took great pains with some of my commercial friends, to ascertain the probable consumption of cotton in the manufactories of the United States. Their statements varied from 30,000 to 60,000 bales, of 300 pounds each. I am disposed to believe, that it was then between 50,000 and 60,000, and rapidly on the increase.—See Appendix, C.

torrents formed by the melting snow, which had disappeared with uncommon rapidity, had washed the road into gullies; and we were often obliged to get out and walk, having recourse, on one occasion, to a team of oxen, to drag us out of a snow-drift. Passing through Warren, we reached Bristol, 16 miles from Providence, at three o'clock, and dined there; three or four very pretty daughters of the landlord, from 10 to 15 years of age, waiting on us. Two miles from Bristol, we reached the ferry, where we made our way through the ice, more than a mile across, to the island on which Newport is situated; and which gives its name to Providence Plantation, and indeed to the whole State. It soon afterwards grew dark, and we had a dangerous ride to Newport, where we arrived safe at last, after many "alarms," and two or three times bringing the vehicle to the ground again, by hanging to windward, as the captains termed it.

The inn where we stopped, (said to be the best in the town,) was a perfect Wapping pot-house; and the hostess, who sat at table with us, the least agreeable woman in that capacity whom I have met with in the United States, except the old woman, with a sharp visage, on the other side of the Pedee, in Carolina, who

is described with great accuracy by Lieutenant Hall, and who gave us a greasy breakfast, on our way to Charleston, charging us an acre of land, or a dollar each for it.

The morning after my arrival at Newport, I set out early, to make my commercial calls, but finding these industrious New Englandmen had returned home to breakfast, I strolled about the town; and a more desolate place I have seldom seen, or one which exhibited more evident symptoms of decay. The wooden houses had either never been painted, or had lost their paint, and were going to ruin. A decent house here and there, seemed to indicate, that some residents of respectability still lingered behind; but the close habitations, with their small windows, and the narrow, dirty, and irregular streets, exhibited no trace of the attractions, which once rendered this a summer resort for the planters from the South. Those attractions are, perhaps, to be found in the beautiful bay and fine water scenery in the vicinity. A frigate, it is said, can sail up the river, within a few miles of Providence, 30 miles distant.

In the afternoon, I met ——, who invited me to go with him to a party, at the British Consul's, who resides at Newport. I was

astonished to find that a British Consul vegetated there, and had hardly expected, that in so desolate a place, I should be invited to a party. I declined his offer, being engaged to a commercial acquaintance to tea. On calling with him, however, to pay my respects, as usual, to the official character of our Consul, I found that the daughter of the gentleman I was going to visit, had already engaged me to accompany her thither; having written a note to say, she should bring a stranger, introduced to her father. After an early visit at her father's, I sallied forth with her and her sister, and a cousin, who, I was informed, was the belle of the town; but who did not appear to have stronger claims to distinction than my fair conductress, a genteel, agreeable girl of 15 years of age. The streets were floating with melting snow, and our lantern, as usual, beguiled us into more puddles, than it preserved us from.

On reaching the Consul's, my fair companions went up stairs to refit, and I was shown into the drawing-room, where I found a phalanx of 12 or 14 young ladies. A few young men dropped in, in the course of the evening, but I soon found, that, as usual, in declining sea-ports, they were *at a premium*, and I had

an excellent opportunity of ascertaining the standard of female society there. You would really have been surprised at the general appearance and manners of the young ladies—of the young men I will say little. One of them, joking my fair conductress on reading Dugald Stewart, I was not a little pleased to find, in the conversation which it gave me the opportunity of pursuing, that she was just finishing his Elements, and proceeding to Paley. On observing that I was interested in learning that she was acquainted with these honoured countrymen of mine, she said, "but you have not been introduced to Miss ——, on the other side of the room; she studies a great deal more than any of us, and went to a quiet place in the country, for three months this summer, that she might not be interrupted." So you see, they are not perfect savages, even in the ruins of a New England sea-port. Mr. —— had been the Consul there for 18 years.

You will remember that we occupied the town several years during the revolutionary war, and some bloody battles were fought in the neighbourhood; where the remnants of an old British fort are to be seen. One of the churches in Newport is more than an hundred years old; quite a piece of antiquity

in this New World; and there is a windmill-tower, or something like it, which carries back the imaginations of the natives to *very distant times*, as their antiquarians have not yet discovered either its date or object.

I was very glad to leave Newport, of which, in finer weather, and a cleaner inn, I should probably have received a different impression. As we now crossed the island by day-light, I was surprised at its fertility. For 12 miles, the fields on both sides of the road, were rich and highly cultivated; and the sheep and cattle, and stone-walls, and the scarcity of trees, (for the very firewood is brought from the main land,) reminded me of some parts of Derbyshire, or the rocky districts of Yorshire; for the whole island is rocky.

In this island the celebrated Bishop Berkeley resided two years and a half, and composed his Minute Philosopher. It has been said, indeed, that the rural descriptions which frequently occurred, were suggested by the beautiful landscapes which lay before him while he was writing.* The following verses, which he composed 50 years before the Declaration of Independence, evinced the sanguine anticipation

* See Professor Smith, of Philadelphia, and Verplank's Discourse before the Historical Society of New York.

which had been formed by our illustrious countryman, with regard to the future destiny of America; and whatever may be our opinion of their correctness, as prophecies, or of the period of their fulfilment, they cannot be read without interest, as the poetical predictions of this great philosopher.

"There shall be sung another golden age,
"The rise of Empires and of Arts;
"The good and great inspiring epic rage,
"The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

"Not such as Europe breeds in her decay,
"Such as she bred when fresh and young,
"When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
"By future poets shall be sung.

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way,
"The four first acts already past,
"A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
"Time's noblest offspring is the last."

At the distance of 12 miles from Newport, we waited for the Providence stage, in a country tavern, kept by a Quaker lady; her ten blooming children, from 3 to 25 years of age, handsome and well-dressed, and particularly respectable in their manners. I did not expect to find such good manners in Rhode Island, although it is as celebrated as Lancashire, (and justly celebrated,) for its blooming

beauties. I saw on the island, more of the old English farmer, and met more Darbys and Joans jogging away on their farm horses, than in any other part of the United States. We had a dark uncomfortable ride hither, where we arrived late at night, on the 3d January, as glad to reach the end of our journey as you probably are.

The following day was Sunday, and I attended the Presbyterian chapel in the morning, and the Baptists in the afternoon, as there was no Episcopal church. The appearance of these places of worship, and of the congregation, corresponded much more nearly with British ideas of New England, than any thing I had previously seen. The former, simple and plain, almost to parsimony; the latter, cold, grave, and in a very homely dress. In the smallest town in New England, where I had spent my Sundays before, the churches and congregations were, in appearance, pretty much on a par with the average in England. The preachers, too, in New Bedford, had more of the nasal twang than I had generally met with; indeed, so much as to be almost ludicrous, at least, to those who connect English associations with it.

On the 5th and 6th, I delivered my letters of introduction, and received and accepted several invitations. The pleasantest house that I visited was that of ——, whom I had met, with the agreeable females of his family, in Canada. Our conversation turned principally on the subject of missions among the American Indians, and of the dispositions which England and America ought to feel towards each other. I endeavoured to convince them that they were not sufficiently sensible of their hereditary honours, nor of the degree in which they were hourly indebted to Europe, for many of the elements of their rapid prosperity; and I tried to induce them to imagine what America would have been at this moment, if left to her internal resources only, and cut off from all intercourse with Europe, from the date of her independence. One of the young ladies, (they were extremely well-educated,) took part with me in the argument, and we had a lively and agreeable evening. They pressed me to stay to a large dinner-party the following day. The society of New Bedford is very limited, and exhibits the plain homely appearance we are accustomed to associate with the idea of thrifty New Englanders. Some of the families, indeed, live in handsome houses;

but the genteel, and indeed, gay style of the young family I visited, forms a striking contrast with all around them.

The town has risen almost entirely on the whale fishery, which is still profitable, and in which the little island of Nantucket has 70 ships engaged.* You know these are sometimes absent for two or three years, and sail quite round the globe, before they return. I could not see Nantucket from the New Bedford shore, but Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands were distinctly visible. I heard so much of these when beating off the coast, on our passage out, that they seemed like old acquaintances. Indeed, Nantucket shoal cost our captain and a British naval officer a night's rest, and induced us to peep out of our births while they were so gravely examining their chart, and listening to the seaman who was heaving the lead.

The severe winter has been keenly felt at Nantucket, all intercourse with the main land having been entirely suspended for four or five weeks; and the supplies of wood, as well as of other comforts, having been thus cut off.

* See a very interesting account of the wreck of a whale ship from Kentucky, in the Appendix, D.

Letter XXXVI.

Portland, State of Maine, 17th February, 1821.

At six o'clock, on the 7th, we took leave of New Bedford, and set off in the stage for Boston. It was a dark morning, with rain and sleet, but not cold. The country seemed laboriously cultivated, but very barren; and occasionally we skirted the native forests of slanted pine and cedar. We breakfasted at a poor house, where we met with civility; but where the meagre fare, so little in the American fashion, evinced that we were either on a road little frequented, or in the track of travellers who still retained some tincture of the right thrifty economical habits of their New England ancestors. I still observed, however, the neat, clean dress, which distinguishes the children even of the poorest farmer in New England; and indeed, generally throughout America. Rags and a dirty squalid appearance will be quite new to me on my return, as I have scarcely seen an instance of them since I left the Slave-States; and there, generally speaking, only among the blacks.

In the course of the morning, we passed within 19 miles of Plymouth, where the Pilgrim Fathers landed about 200 years ago. The second Centenary Anniversary was celebrated there a few weeks since, and an immense concourse of people assembled. The following are a few of the toasts which were given on that occasion.

"The character of William Penn—like that of an American autumn—mild—calm—bright—abounding in good fruits."

"Old times—old folks—old records—and OLD COLONY."

"Literature; Antiquities of New England; Elliott's Indian Bible, writ with but one pen—Newman's Concordance, compiled by the light of pine knots."

"The Rock of Plymouth. May it be trodden two thousand years hence, by as worthy feet as leaped upon it two hundred years ago."

"Speed the arts, which speed the plough, which speeds the keel which Jack built."

"The ancient haunts of the Pilgrims; tongues in trees; books in the running streams; sermons in stones; and good in every thing."

"The hospitality of our Fathers—the best first, and the best always."

There is an annual celebration, but to that, I believe, none make a point of going, except

those in the vicinity; while the close of the century is rendered an interesting and solemn occasion, by the assemblage of distinguished characters from all parts of New England; who unite in the offices of religion, and after the delivery of an appropriate oration,* spend

* The following is an extract from the Oration spoken on this occasion, by Mr. Webster, an eminent lawyer and Member of Congress. It is an oration which will bear a comparison with the finest specimens of modern eloquence:—

"Different, indeed, most widely different, from all common instances of emigration and plantation, were the condition, the purposes, and the prospects of our Fathers, when they established their infant colony upon this spot. They came hither to a land from which they were never to return. Hither they had brought, and here they were to fix their hopes, their attachments, and their objects. Some natural tears they shed, as they left the pleasant abode of their fathers; and some emotions they suppressed, when the white cliffs of their native country, now seen for the last time, grew dim to their sight. They were acting, however, upon a resolution not to be changed. With whatever stifled regrets, with whatever occasional hesitation, with whatever appaling apprehensions, which might sometimes arise with force to shake the firmest purpose, they had yet committed themselves to heaven, and the elements; and a thousand leagues of water soon interposed, to separate them for ever from the region which gave them birth. A new existence awaited them here; and when they saw these shores, rough, cold, barbarous, and barren, as then they were, they beheld their country. That mixed and strong feeling, which we call love of country, and which is, in general, never extinguished from the heart of man, grasped and embraced its proper object here. Whatever constitutes *country*, except

the evening in festivity. The rock on which the Fathers landed, is now brought into the

the earth and the sun, all the moral causes of affection and attachment, which operate upon the heart, they had brought with them to their new abode. Here, were now their families and friends; their homes, and their prosperity. Before they reached the shore, they had establishments of a social system; and at a much earlier period had settled their forms of religious worship. At the moment of their landing, therefore, they possessed institutions of government, and institutions of religion; and friends and families, and social and religious institutions, established by consent, founded on choice and preference. How nearly do these fill up your whole idea of country!

"The morning that beamed on the first night of their repose, saw the Pilgrims already established in their country. There were political institutions, and civil liberty, and religious worship. Poetry has fancied nothing in the wandering of heroes so distinct and characteristic. Here was man, indeed, unprotected and unprovided for on the shore of a rude and fearful wilderness; but it was politic, intelligent, and educated man. Every thing was civilized but the physical world. Institutions, containing in substance all that ages had done for human government, were established in a forest. Cultivated mind was to act on uncultivated nature; and more than all, a government and a country, were to commence, with the very first foundations laid under the divine light of the Christian Religion. Happy auspices of a happy futurity! Who could wish that his country's existence had otherwise begun? Who would desire the power of going back to the ages of fable? Who would wish for an origin, obscured in the darkness of antiquity? Who would wish for other emblazoning of his country's heraldry, or rather ornaments of her genealogy, than to be able to say, that her first existence was with intelligence; her first breath, the inspira-

middle of the town, at Plymouth; and it is proposed to erect a monument over it, in a

tions of liberty; her first principle, the truth of divine religion?

"Local attachments and sympathies would, ere long, spring up in the breasts of our ancestors, endearing to them the place of their refuge. Wherever natural objects are assembled with interesting scenes and high efforts, they obtain a hold on human feeling, and demand from the heart a sort of recognition and regard. This rock soon became hallowed in the esteem of the Pilgrims, and these hills grateful to their sight. Neither they nor their children were again to till the soil of England, nor again to traverse the seas which surround her. But there was a new sea, now open to their enterprize, and a new soil, which had not failed to respond gratefully to their laborious industry, and which was already assuming a robe of verdure. Hardly had they provided shelter for the living, ere they were summoned to erect sepulchres for the dead.—The ground had become sacred by enclosing the remains of some of their companions and connexions. A parent, a child, a husband, or a wife, had gone the way of all flesh, and mingled with the dust of New England. We naturally look with strong emotions to the spot, though it be a wilderness, where the ashes of those we love repose. Where the heart has laid down what it loved most, it is desirous of laying itself down. No sculptured marble, no enduring monument, no honourable inscription, no ever-burning taper that would drive away the darkness of death, can soften our sense of the reality of mortality, and hallow to our feelings the ground which is to cover us, like the consciousness that we shall sleep, dust to dust, with the object of our affections.

"In a short time, other causes sprung up to bind the Pilgrims with new cords to their chosen land. Children were born, and the hopes of future generations found this the land of their nativity, and saw that they were bound to its fortunes.

chamber of which may be deposited the original records, charter, &c. all of which are preserved. I will not attempt to communicate the reflections which my proximity to this interesting spot excited, as I rode musing along. Your own imagination, *as in days of yore,* will outstrip mine.

About noon, we passed through Taunton, a nice little town, with some excellent houses in it; and on reaching the gap, on the Blue Hills, 15 miles from Boston, the view was very extensive and beautiful. The afternoon was brilliant, and I really thought I had seldom if ever (in the absence of fine mountains) seen a more magnificent prospect than was presented by the amphitheatre before us; including Boston, with its numerous spires and forests of masts, the bay, studded with islands, and a rich undulating surface, bounded by an elevated horizon, and adorned with more villages and steeples than were ever presented to my view in the same space.

We reached Boston, 62 miles from New Bedford, at six o'clock in the evening; and at ——, my old habitation, I found the summer

They beheld their Fathers' graves around them; and while they read the memorials of their toils and labours, they rejoiced in the inheritance which they found bequeathed to them."

party almost dispersed. Among the fresh boarders was an eminent Salem merchant, who is here on duty as Senator of the State.

The next day I called on as many of my old friends as a three o'clock dinner would admit of; and in the course of that and the following morning, I had made either one or two engagements for each of the eight days I purposed remaining in Boston, besides being obliged to refuse many invitations. Of these visits I have already sent you an account, and feel much gratification in introducing you to some of the estimable friends in whose domestic circles I have spent many very agreeable hours. I am continually surprised to find so large a proportion of both sexes, who have made the tour of Europe. An ardent desire to see the land of their fathers is, indeed, very natural among a people so intelligent and well-educated as the Bostonians, and living, as they do, surrounded by monuments of the revolution, which tore them from the parent country, to the people of which they are far more nearly assimilated in their character and habits than the inhabitants of any other city in the United States. The style of living in the best circles is rather expensive and luxurious for so pure a democracy; but there is a simplicity, frankness,

liberality, intelligence, and cultivation, which, combined with their English taste and habits of thinking, gives to the society of Boston an agreeable "*Je ne sais quoi*," which distinguishes it from that of any other city in the Union. There are several public libraries; but the only one that I have visited is the Athenæum, where there is an excellent library, and a very large collection of the periodical works of Great Britain and America. The number of the inhabitants in Boston is about 40,000; its officers are annually elected by the whole people; and at the public meetings, which are frequently held on different subjects, every individual has a right to speak. The immediate government of the town is confided to a certain number, who are termed select-men, and correspond with our courts of aldermen. The oldest house now standing in Boston, and probably in the United States, is one in Tremont-street, which was built about 150 years since by the celebrated Sir Harry Vane.

I have not mentioned your old acquaintance, James, much of late. He has been a great treasure, indeed, and, infinitely to his credit, he is returning to England about as good a servant as he left it. At one period, he degenerated a little, when visions of American estates floated before

his imagination; but I desired him to sift the apparent advantages offered to him by this country to the bottom, and to embrace them if they were solid; and his excellent judgment, I think, has decided that he is best at home. Occasionally, while the people at an inn were asking me "when the gentleman, who was cleaning the horses, would come to his breakfast," I have heard him talking about "the other man in the parlour;" but the delusion soon passed away, and he is now, in every respect, I think, as attentive and respectful as when we landed in this Republican country. In his fidelity I have implicit confidence, and am become much attached to him. It is difficult to travel in this country with a servant without spoiling him. In the stage-coaches he is probably at least equal to many who are, for the time, on an equality with his master; and although he may not have read Euclid, he is conversant with the axiom, that "things which are equal to the same thing, are equal to each other." In the wilderness, too, it would be sulky and ungracious to ride all day without some interchange of thought, with a worthy intelligent servant, excited and interested by objects as new to him as to yourself. In the wild parts of the country the natives always wish to set a servant down at

the same table with his master, and both are thus occasionally placed in an awkward situation. My servant, however, was very dexterous in avoiding dilemmas of this kind, and has been very observant and inquisitive as we went along. Occasionally, I think, he must have fallen asleep as we rode slowly on horseback through the forests, since he was several times dismounted by branches which hung over our path, and once he was left, like Absalom, suspended in the air. On setting out from Augusta, in Georgia, he was a little humbled, by being twice thrown into a splash of water by his young horse, who, unaccustomed to carry pistols and blankets, and unconscious of the long pilgrimage on which it was starting, capered so gaily as to unseat him in the presence of a large crowd, who had assembled to see us set out to cross the wilderness, and who were attempting to deter us, by assuring us it was impossible we could cross the flooded streams. James's accident rendered them more loud and confident in their predictions.

On the 11th, (Sunday,) I went in the morning to hear Mr. Dwight, the son of Dr. Dwight, well known in Europe as a theological writer, and as an eminent professor of Yale College. He gave us an excellent sermon

on the practical disbelief of scriptural truth by professed Christians.

In the afternoon, I went as usual, while in Boston, to hear Dr. Jarvis, the writer of the interesting discourse on the religion of the Indians, which you may have seen reviewed in the British Review. He is a sensible, learned young man, about thirty-three years of age, and occupies a most important station in the new Episcopal church, at Boston.

On the 14th, I dined with my agreeable Canadian companions, and in the evening, filled an official situation of no mean dignity and importance—that of groomsman to a friend, who had requested me, on my arrival in Boston, to be one of his attendants, on the happy occasion which he was anticipating. There were three others, for here the number of groomsmen is usually from four to six; and there are always, I believe, the same number of bride-maids. We assembled at Mr. '——'s, the father of the young lady, at half-past six o'clock, when a family circle of about twenty gradually assembled; and at seven o'clock the ceremony was performed in the drawing-room with considerable solemnity. I was glad to find the bride-maids very agreeable, and that the one, of whom I was to have the especial charge, was very handsome.

Our duties began immediately after tea, as it is the strange custom in Boston to see company the same evening; and it is the office of the groomsman to meet the ladies on the stairs, and conduct them to the bride, who sits or stands at the end of the drawing-room with her maidens to receive all who are presented to her. We had the honour of presenting to her nearly all the beauty and fashion of Boston in the course of the evening; and I have not very often seen more beauty in one room. Sometimes, while marching up, an unknown belle on my arm, and the insignia of my office, a white rose on my breast, I was almost thrown into an involuntary fit of laughter, by thinking how you would be amused if you could see me. Towards the close of the evening, it was no easy matter to work our way through the assembled crowd. About ten o'clock, all had disappeared but the bridal party; and after a little social supper, prepared for the bride-maids and groomsmen, we dispersed also; and I had the pleasure of escorting my fair friend home, in her covered sleigh. It was a terrible snow-storm, and had put the politeness of the evening visitors to a severe test. The next day I was engaged to dine at Mr. ——, one of the pleasantest houses in Boston, to meet some of the professors of

Harwood College, Cambridge, and many others; but I found that every thing was to give way to the duties of my office, and I therefore dined with the bridal party, and an extensive family circle. In the evening, we went to a large gay party, where my duty was of a more agreeable and less responsible kind than on the preceding evening, consisting merely in entertaining the bride-maid confided in the first instance, to my particular charge; (for as I was very well pleased with my lot, I did not inquire if it was the custom to change,) and keeping, in some degree, in the train of the bride. The party separated about eleven o'clock, and after taking leave of my fair companions, I lay down for an hour or two; took a cup of coffee at two o'clock, and set off immediately afterwards in the stage for this place. It was a beautiful moonlight morning, and the ground was covered with the fresh snow which had fallen the preceding day. As I do not intend to get out of the coach, if I can help it, as I pass through Boston on my return, I considered myself as taking a final leave of it; and I could not but feel under great obligations for the verykind attentions I received there.

I have already told you how much I was engaged, and had I continued there, my bridal con-

nection would have left no intermission of visits for two or three weeks, as a succession of parties is inflicted on the bride, at which all the attendants are expected, I understood, *ex-officio*. I was considered as rather deserting my post, in leaving Boston so soon after the wedding; but I had pleaded the necessity before I undertook my office.

My increasing acquaintance with the American young ladies confirms me in the opinions I sent you from Philadelphia, with respect to their pleasing appearance, and the propriety and agreeable frankness of their manners. I speak of those in the cities; for the manners of the females in the country are generally cold. You would be surprised, however, at the neat appearance and respectable manners of the females in subordinate situations nearly all over America, except, perhaps, some poorer parts of the Carolinas and Georgia. You would infer the necessity of rather distant manners in the females in country inns, as the daughters of the landlord wait upon you; and as they do not regard themselves as menials, they have to secure respect, (and succeed admirably,) by their modest and dignified demeanour.

I always think of you when I hear any thing interesting about the Indians; so I must tell

you what I heard in Boston respecting the two little Osage captives, whom I saw at Brainerd, as you will recollect. The Governor of Arkansaw being authorized by the general Government to adjust a difference between the Arkansaw Cherokees and the Osages, to prevent a bloody war, brought them to an agreement on the following terms:—That the Arkansaw Cherokees were to return to the Osages all the prisoners taken in a late war; and the Osages were to give up some men, who had murdered three Cherokees.

These poor little children were among the number of the former; and the missionaries were compelled to part with them, not, however, without hopes of recovering them. When the little girl heard of it, she ran and hid herself in the forest, and was nine miles from the mission-house when discovered. She cried bitterly to leave the family at Brainerd, and the parting was quite a melancholy scene. As a mission is now established among the Arkansaw Cherokees, on the other side of the Mississippi, it is hoped these little ones may ultimately be placed there.

I mentioned that it was a fine moonlight morning yesterday, when we left Boston. We went to Newbury Port to breakfast, 39 miles; and then crossing the Merrimack, (the river I

mentioned, when at Concord,) we proceeded to Portsmouth, where we crossed the Piscataqau. So far, the snow had not been deep enough for sleighs, but here the wheels of our stage were exchanged for runners; and proceeding through Kennebe k over the Saco, we reached Portland, 120 miles from Boston, at half-past seven o'clock, in 17 hours. The road runs near the sea all the way, and many of the adjoining fields are nearly covered with immense rocks. The day became very gloomy after breakfast, and the large woods of pine, spruce, and cedar, irregular and stunted, rather increased than diminished the dreariness of this winter scene. The stunted trees reminded me of the plains we occasionally saw in the South western States, and indeed in many other parts of America, covered with dwarf oaks two or three feet high. *

* These plains are thus described, and accounted for by Dr. Dwight:—

"The origin of the peculiar appearance of these grounds is probably this. The Indians annually, and sometimes oftener, burned such parts of the North American forests as they found sufficiently dry. In every such case, the fuel consists chiefly of the fallen leaves, which are rarely dry enough for an extensive combustion, except on uplands; and on these only when covered with a dry soil. Of this nature were always the oak and yellow-pine grounds; which were, therefore, usually subjected to an annual conflagration. The beech and maple grounds were commonly too wet to be

The road and coaches between Boston and Portland, afford facilities for travelling, more

burned. Hence on these grounds the vegetable mould is from six inches to a foot in depth; having been rarely or never consumed by fire; while on the oak and pine grounds it often does not exceed an inch. That this is the effect of fire only, and not of any diversity in the nature of the trees, is evident from the fact, that in moist soils, where the fire cannot penetrate, the mould is as deep on the oak as on the maple grounds. This mould is combustible, and by an intense fire is wholly consumed.

"The object of these conflagrations was to produce fresh and sweet pasture, for the purpose of alluring the deer to the spots on which they had been kindled. Immediately after the fires, a species of grass springs up, sometimes called fire-grass, because it usually succeeds a conflagration. Whether it is a peculiar species of grass, I am unable to say; not having seen it since the days of childhood. Either from its nature, or from the efficacy of the fire, it is remarkably sweet, and eagerly sought by deer. All the underwood is at the same time consumed, so that these animals are easily discovered at considerable distances; a thing impracticable where the forests have not been burned. You will remember, that to supply himself with timber for a wigwam, and with wood for fuel, was the only use, which an Indian could make of a forest; and that the earth furnished him with nothing but a place for his residence, his garden, and his game. While, therefore, he destroyed both the forest and the soil, he converted them to the most profitable uses for himself.

"When these grounds had been often burned, they were of course covered with grass. The seeds and nuts, whence future trees would have germinated, were extensively destroyed by successive fires. Few trees, therefore, could spring for want of seeds, and fewer still, because the surface was covered with grass; for wherever that vegetable has gained possession of

nearly resembling our own than any in America, and the sleigh saved us an hour, although we

the soil; forest trees will never spring. The small number scattered over these plains grew on spots, which were less ravaged by the fire because they were moist, or because they were less covered with leaves.

"Thus, in time, these plains were disforested to the degree in which we now see them, and were gradually converted into pasture grounds. It ought to be observed, that they were in all probability burnt over for ages after they were disforested; I presume down to a very late period. In a dry season of autumn, the grass would furnish ample fuel for this purpose.

"That this is the true cause of the singular appearance of these plains can scarcely be doubted, when the following facts are compared:

"That the Indians customarily burned, every year, such parts of the forests as were sufficiently dry to admit of conflagration.

"That these were the only grounds, which, except in rare cases, could be successfully burned.

"That, wherever they have been for a considerable length of time free from fires, the young trees are now springing up in great numbers, and will soon change these open grounds into forests, if left to the course of nature. Such, particularly, is the fact on the first of these plains, near the Genesee river; and still more strikingly in Bloomfield and Charleston, where the fires have been longer intermitted.

"That in various places the marks of the fire are now visible on the trunks of the remaining trees, particularly near the ground. These marks I suppose to have been impressed at a comparatively late period, and by fires kindled in the grass.

"That on the borders of these very plains, trees, of exactly the same species, are now growing in great numbers, and in the usual regular succession, of all ages and sizes, within the

had lost nearly as much time by interruptions from the snow, while on wheels.

nearest neighbourhood of those on the plains; and that this diversity, perfectly explicable on this supposition, is inexplicable on any other.

"That there can be no account given, why the vegetable mould should be so thinly spread over these plains, except that it has been continually consumed by fire; since it exists in the usual quantity in the forests, composed of the same trees, on moister ground, bordering these plains on every side.

"And that all the phenomena are, if I mistake not, explained by the cause alleged."—*Dwight's Travels.*

Letter XXXVII.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 19th Feb. 1821.

My last letter mentioned our safe arrival at Portland, which we found so full, that it was with great difficulty we could secure a lodging. The house in which we obtained beds at last, was a second-rate tavern, filled with second, or rather fifth or sixth-rate legislators, who had left their appropriate callings in the field, the shop, or the laboratory, for the more splendid but not less arduous duties of legislation. Not, indeed, that they appeared to think them arduous, or to suppose that there was much mystery in the affair. Not one of our own Radicals could pronounce with more self-complacent familiarity on those difficult questions of law or government which the wisest statesmen and philosophers have approached with diffidence, and decided upon with hesitation. In the public room into which I was shown, I found three or four of them sitting, who, from their appearance, I supposed to be small farmers; and there was nothing in the professional titles

which I soon heard echoed about, such as colonel, major, doctor, &c. to remove the idea. They were discussing the propriety of abolishing the Court of Common Pleas, and throwing all the business into the Supreme Court; some of them conceiving that a supreme and subordinate court savoured too much of aristocracy, and that by diminishing the number of courts, they should diminish the number of trials, and clip the profits of the lawyers, who are at present in rather bad odour in the young State of Maine. One of them, (I think it was the colonel,) took the opposite side of the question. "For his part," he said, "he did not like to throw great criminal cases and petty suits into *one hopper;* and that, as far as his information went, history presented no instance of it." His opponent replied, that "was no reason at all why they should not do as they pleased." He rejoined, that he thought it was; for though they *were* an independent state at last, he did not see why they should set themselves up as wiser than all the other states; and that, though little causes ought to be settled with as much correctness as great ones, he, for one, should oppose their being thrown into *one hopper!*

Other questions were decided with equal profundity; and if the young man, who was sent

into a European cabinet to learn with how little wisdom the world is governed, were still alive, and required a second lesson, I would recommend him to the "Portland tavern," in the State of Maine, "during the sitting of the legislature." In this same State of Maine, I feel a particular interest, from having been present at the discussion at Washington on the subject of her admission into the Union, and from her name being intimately associated with the important decision on the Missouri question; and I grieve to see her in the hand of such young practitioners. If such men form the majority of her legislature, it must be "*per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum*," that she attains political eminence, if she ever attain it. To a traveller, there is something extremely grotesque in the aspect of the legislatures in the *newly-formed* States, whose legislators must at first be of a very motley character: especially if the population be so scanty, or of such a cast as to supply few men of liberal education. A friend told me, that at Corydon, the metropolis of Indiana, he attended the sitting of the legislature, when a member rose to propose the removal of the seat of government to some other place, on the plea that the board and lodging at Corydon was extravagant—18s per week—

and the fare bad. The representative from Corydon replied sharply, and told him that he got better living in that place than he ever got at home, and that if he would be satisfied with such food as he was accustomed to when at home, the tavern-keeper would maintain him for half price. This important discussion continued so long that it was adjourned till the following day.

Such exhibitions are, surely, a very legitimate source of amusement; but then they should not lead us, as they too frequently do, to fix our attention upon them *exclusively*—to regard them as the rule, not as the exceptions—as the ordinary and prominent features of American Republicanism, rather than as accidental excrescences in the extremities, which are soon outgrown and disappear. They should be viewed also in connection with the more dignified proceedings, the maturer counsels, and the higher order of talent to be found in the legislatures of many of the older States; and in connection with the practical results of the free institutions of America, as evinced by her past and present prosperity. Not that these results are of an unmixed character. It is not given to humanity to enjoy either natural or political good without alloy; and some evils, I think, I have observed

to flow from the American form of government, which I will notice here.

One of these is the introduction into the State Legislatures of members obviously incompetent to the task of legislation. Natural sagacity alone is not sufficient, even if that were always to be found. Many of the topics, which of necessity frequently occupy the attention, even of the State Legislatures, demand a degree of information and habits of research very foreign indeed to the pursuits of a large proportion of the members. The consequence is, that ignorance, a spirit of opposition, an impatience, even of intellectual superiority, and a desire to appear to their constituents *to be doing something*, frequently defeat the most important and judicious measures of the enlightened minority; while that minority is diminished by an unwillingness on the part of the members of the community, who are best qualified for the station, to enter the list with noisy demagogues, whose declamations too often drown the voice of truth. It is particularly unfortunate, that the most difficult questions—those which arise in forming or establishing their constitution, and arranging the judiciary—are among the first which present themselves to the consideration of the legislatures of newly-erected States, when it is

reasonable to expect a more than ordinary proportion of raw and ignorant legislators, and a deficiency of practical skill, even in the wisest. It really excites a smile, to imagine the legislature of Indiana, after settling the question whether they should remove the seat of government to some town where the tavern-keeper would charge them 13s 6d, instead of 18s per week for their board, turning to the graver and more appropriate subjects of legislation,—inquiring what proportion of democracy they should infuse into their constitution, and what collateral effects would result from each of the various modes of accomplishing their purpose—what should be the number and nature of their courts of justice, whether they should be established on the principle of concurrent or appellate jurisdiction, whether their judges should be removable at pleasure, their salary be liable to diminution, and numberless other intricate questions.

It is a happy circumstance for the newly-erected States, that they may always have access to the more matured systems of their neighbours, and that the effects of their own errors are confined to themselves. Indeed, I think it is not one of the least advantages of the Confederation, that it admits of a course of experi-

ments in legislation, in each of the particular States, without the slightest danger of interrupting the movements of the general machine, and enables all, at the hazard only of their individual inconvenience, to contribute their quota of political experience to the common stock.

Another of the evils to which I referred, as flowing, perhaps of necessity, from the democratical institutions of America, is the subserviency to popular opinion which they appear to entail on the legislative and executive officers. I had no idea of the degree in which popularity was made a primary and avowed object of pursuit here; nor of the extensive sacrifices of personal independence which are made at her shrine. In this free government, many of the senators and representatives are far less the servants than the slaves of their constituents; and *they* must be fond, indeed, of public honours and official stations, who are willing to buy them at such a price.

Talents, indeed, like those of Mr. Lowndes, when combined with his disinterestedness and patriotism, too unequivocal to be even suspected, will *command* popularity; and a man, like Mr. Calhoun, may vote in the teeth of his constituents, and instead of being dismissed, as is common in such cases, may fix himself in their

estimation more firmly than ever, by a manly appeal to their convictions, and make them ashamed that they wished him to espouse the opposite side; but there are few men like Mr. Lowndes in any country, and not a great many Calhouns; and common men, if they would attain popularity, must make it their pursuit. I have seen nothing to lead me to suppose, that the influence of such a pursuit on individual character is at all more ennobling or elevating on the western than on the eastern shores of the Atlantic, or to convince me that public spirit and patriotism are the natural and necessary results of republican institutions.

But, independently of the injurious moral effects of an insatiable appetite for popularity in the individual, a constant reference to popular favour imposes very inconvenient trammels on the representative, in the discharge of his legislative duties. He is too apt to consider himself as addressing his constituents, rather than the legislative assembly; and to think less of the effect his speech is likely to produce in favour of his argument, in the capitol, than in favour of himself at home. As an incentive to activity, this may have a good effect; but the efforts to which it prompts, especially in the way of oratorical flourishes, do not always

produce advantages to the public, commensurate with the care and trouble, "the anxious days and sleepless nights," they may have cost the individual. I was informed, that it is common for the new members, to make great exertion soon after the meeting of Congress, to send home a *speech* to their constituents, in the National Intelligencer; and then, if they find that the genius of eloquence has not favoured them, they perhaps remain silent during the rest of the session. But this is hardly safe; for a silent representative is seldom a popular one. A friend informed me, that in passing through Pennsylvania, a Pennsylvanian, speaking to him of a member of Congress, said, "He won't get in again, I guess; for we never see no speech of his in the papers, and we can't have a man that says nothing for his pay."

But, after all, I think it impossible for an unprejudiced stranger to visit the beautiful Senate-chamber and House of Representatives in the Capitol, at Washington, without being struck with the intelligence and practical skill of Congress; the regularity of their proceedings; their ready, perspicuous, forcible business-like style of eloquence; and, with some exceptions, their habitual courtesy and attention to the feelings of opponents. He would

sometimes witness, in American oratory, the freshness of youth, the fervour of boundless anticipation, and that consciousness of personal identity with the glory and prosperity of his country, which a popular government infuses into the meanest citizen; but he would seldom be dazzled with corruscations of cultivated genius, or electrified with bursts of impassioned feeling, and would seek in vain, in the American Congress, for that indefinable but irresistible charm, which classical associations, the refinements of polished society, and a history rich, in all that is illustrious and venerable, imparts to the eloquence of a British Parliament.*

I do not know whether you have studied the American Constitution deeply, but you will probably be glad of an opportunity of tracing some of its more prominent features. I will, therefore, make some extracts for you, from a little publication, which I have already quoted, entitled, "Letters from Washington." Though exhibiting, in my opinion, internal evidence of being an American production, it professes to be written by an Englishman; and a parallel

* The speeches of Mr. Webster ought perhaps to suggest some qualification of this general remark.

is occasionally drawn between the constitutions of the two countries.

"The American confederacy is constituted by the union of many states; each in itself separately considered sovereign and independent, and having its own executive, legislative, judiciary, local constitution and laws. These states are divided into congressional districts, which are each entitled to one representative; and every state, whatever be its size or population, can send two senators to the national legislature. The powers, not delegated to the United States, by the constitution, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people. Representatives and direct taxes are apportioned among the states, according to the census taken every ten years. The number of electors of President of the United States, is, in each state, equal to the number of senators and representatives to which such state is entitled in Congress. The citizens of one state, have all the privileges of the citizens of the several states. No new state can be created in another, nor formed by the union of two or more states, or part of states, without the consent of the legislatures of such states. Each state is entitled to the protection of the United States, against foreign invasion or domestic violence;

no amendment to the federal constitution can be valid, unless sanctioned and ratified by the legislatures of at least three-fourths of the several states; two-thirds of whom, upon application to Congress, can call a convention to propose amendments, which, when ratified as above, become a part of the constitution. Such are the features of this instrument, in relation to the different states that constitute the American confederacy. You will perceive, that it is not only a social, but a federal compact." 'In its foundation it is federal, not national or social; the sources from which the ordinary powers of the government are drawn, are partly federal, and partly national; in the operation of these powers, it is national, not federal; in the extent of them, it is federal, not national; and finally, in the authoritative mode of introducing amendments, it is neither wholly federal nor national.'* "In short, it is a written compact, by which power is created, and obedience enacted. The senators and representatives chosen from the different states, assemble at Washington, the seat of the general government, at least once in every year, and compose the Congress of the United States, which, as I have before observed, consists of two houses, the

* Federalist.

Senate and House of Representatives. Each house makes its own rules, chooses its own officers, except the vice-president, who is elected like the president of the United States; determines election returns and qualifications of its own members, and keeps a journal of its own proceedings. The House of Representatives originates all impeachments, and the Senate tries them. In Congress the legislative authority, or as Blackstone calls it, the *sovereignty*,* is lodged. To this body, the constitution has given these powers, which you will see defined in the 1st article and 8th section of the copy of the instrument I send you.

"It will be seen, from an examination of the powers above-mentioned, that they are all necessary and proper to give vigour to the federal compact. In some instances, however, these powers have been restrained, and these restraints have been ascertained by experience, to be highly salutary and beneficial. I shall briefly run them over for your better information. It is provided, that all taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform, and no preference

* In this country the sovereign power is retained by the people. In each state the government is distributed into two branches, internal and external; the former is confided to the state government, the latter to the federal.

shall be given to one state over another. That the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, except in times of invasion or rebellion; that no bill of attainder shall be passed, and no direct tax laid, but in proportion to the census of the inhabitants of the different states; that no money shall be drawn from the national treasury, but in consequence of appropriations; that no title of nobility shall be granted; and that no person holding any office of trust or profit, shall accept of any office, title, or emolument from any foreign prince, king, or state, without the consent of Congress. In relation to the states individually, the powers withdrawn from them by the federal constitution, are these:—

'Sec. 10.—That no state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation: grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.'

'No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any impost, or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the

nett produce of all duties and imposts laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and controul of Congress. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.'

"In order to prevent an undue exercise of power in the general government, which might tend to affect the rights of the states or those of citizens, it is declared that treason shall consist only in levying war against the United States, or adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort; that no person shall be convicted of treason, but on the testimony of two witnesses, or on confession in open court; that no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during life; that no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting its free exercise, can be made; and that the liberty of speech and the press, the right of the people to assemble to petition Government for a redress of grievances,

and their right to bear arms, cannot be abridged or infringed. To prevent oppression, it is provided that no soldiers shall be quartered in any house in time of peace, without the consent of the owner; and to secure the citizen from unreasonable search, it is declared, that no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation. It is also provided, that no person shall be held to answer for any capital or infamous offence, except in the land and sea service, unless in presentment or indictment of a grand jury, nor answer for the same offence twice; that in all criminal and civil suits, above twenty dollars, he shall have the right of jury trial; that he shall not, in any criminal case, be compelled to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. In criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy and public trial by jury of the district in which the crime was committed; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for witnesses in his favour, and the assistance of counsel; and finally, that excessive bail shall not be imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. You will easily discover, and it must always be understood, that the powers

not expressly delegated, are reserved to the states and the people. All constructive or assumed powers are considered as dangerous to the liberties of the citizen, and fatal to the rights and the union of the states.

"With a view, then, that you may the more perfectly understand the nature of this constitution, I will briefly exhibit the points in which the British and American Governments differ.

IN ENGLAND.	IN AMERICA.
1st, The king possesses imperial dignity.	There is no king, the president acts as the chief magistrate of the nation only.
2nd, This imperial dignity is hereditary and perpetual.	The presidency lasts only four years.
3d, The king has the sole power of making war and peace, and of forming treaties with foreign powers.	The president can do neither without the consent of congress.
4th, The king alone can levy troops, build fortresses, and equip fleets.	The president has no such power: this is vested in congress.

IN ENGLAND.	IN AMERICA.
5th, He is the source of all judicial power and the head of all the tribunals of the nation.	The executive has only the appointment of judges with the consent of the senate, and is unconnected with the judiciary.
6th, He is the fountain of all honour, office, and privilege, can create peers and distribute titles and dignities.	The president has no such power. There are no titles, and he can only appoint to office by and with the consent of the senate.
7th, He is at the head of the national church, and has supreme control over it.	There is no established church.
8th, He is the superintendent of commerce; regulates the weights and measures, and can alone coin money, and give currency to foreign coin.	The president has no such power.

IN ENGLAND.	IN AMERICA.
9th, He is the universal proprietor of the kingdom.	The president has nothing to do with the property of the United States.
10th, The king's person is sacred and inviolate—he is accountable to no human power, and can do no wrong.	The president is nothing more than an individual; is amenable like all civil officers, and considered as capable of doing wrong as any other citizen.
11th, Our legislature contains a house of lords; 300 nobles, whose seats, honours and privileges are hereditary.	There are no nobles, and both houses of congress are elected.

" I presume it will be unnecessary to adduce more points of difference to illustrate the nature of the American Government; these are, I think, sufficient to convince you of the entire democratic tendency of the constitution of the United States, and of the error under which you have laboured, in believing that but few differences, and those immaterial and unim-

portant, existed between our Government and this. We have, indeed, in common, the *habeas corpus*, and the trial by jury, the great bulwarks of civil liberty; but in almost every other particular they disagree.

"The first branch of the American Government, I shall consider is the executive. The President is chosen by electors in the different States composing the Union, who are equal in number to the representatives in Congress. His period of service is four years; but to qualify him for this station, he must be a native citizen of the United States, and at least thirty-five years of age at the time of election. This election is conducted in a manner much less complicated than that of the Doge of Venice and Genoa, which you may perceive by a glance at the constitution I send you. The President's title, says M. De La Croiz, *n'est ni celui de roi, ni celui de duc; ce n'est ni un monarque, ni unchef, c'est un President.* His power is, I think, rather too much limited and controlled for a vigorous and energetic government. No danger, indeed, can result to the liberty of the people from this power; but much procrastination and delay, in periods of extreme emergency, may flow from the circumscribed nature of his authority; liable to impeachment and dismissal from office for

the commission of treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours, he may do much good, but he can do no essential wrong. The powers he derives from the constitution, are, in fact, mere duties, which, by a little metaphysical refinement, may be so attenuated and enlarged as to embrace almost every thing, and to afford a field for the most subtle and endless speculation.—The influence and patronage of the executive are, however, still very considerable; but I do not think they will ever be dangerous. His powers I will briefly enumerate, that you may see the affinity between the British and American executives. The President is *ex officio* commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the different States, when called into service; but this call can only be made by Congress, and the States respectively have the power of appointing the officers of the militia. He has the power to reprieve and pardon all offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment. The king, on the contrary, pardons in all cases whatever. The President has the power to make treaties; but it must be by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and the concurrence of two-thirds present; and these treaties become part of the supreme law of the land. The

power I have just mentioned, is involved in some difficulty and embarrassment. The treaty-making power which is here vested in the executive and Senate, is uncontrolled. The senators not being considered as civil officers, are not, as in England, liable to impeachment. Should the President and Senate therefore conspire to make a treaty dishonourable to the nation, and to overstep the limits of their authority, I see no constitutional possibility of obviating the evil, or of punishing the culprits. The President may, indeed, be impeached, but his judges are the very men who have united with him in committing the offence, and they cannot but be improper judges. In addition, it may be necessary to observe, that many cases will occur, in which the constitutional powers of the House of Representatives are involved. Let us suppose, for example, that a treaty of alliance is entered into with a foreign power, in which supplies of money and munitions of war are to be furnished by the United States. These cannot be constitutionally appropriated, but by the concurrence of the popular branch of the national legislature; and yet, this treaty must be binding, without the consent or even the knowledge of that branch. Such are the diffi-

culties and absurdities of this part of the constitution. The President's next power which gives him, as I have already stated, such extensive influence and patronage, is that of nominating, and with the consent of the Senate, appointing ambassadors, ministers, consuls, judges, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are authorized by law. He also commissions these officers, and in some cases, has the sole appointment, and fills up all vacancies that may occur during the recess. Under this head, much discussion has taken place. As the constitution provides, that all civil officers of the United States shall be removed on impeachment and conviction of treason, bribery, and other high crimes and misdemeanours, it has been contended, that the President has not the power of dismissing from office; but the question is now settled, and I believe it is generally conceded, that the power of creating in this case, necessarily implies the power of destroying, which you will perceive is a metaphysical deduction resulting from the abstract nature of the case. The President can convene both houses of Congress upon any extraordinary occasion, and adjourn them, if any disagreement about the period of adjournment should arise between them. In relation

to his duties, he is bound to give to Congress, from time to time, information of the state of the Union, and recommend such measures as he may think conducive to the public interest —he must also see that the laws be faithfully executed; and the oath which he is obliged to take before he enters upon the duties of his high and important station, compels him to "preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States." The last power which I shall mention, is of a legislative character, and constitutes him, *sub-modo*, a branch of that department. No bill, resolution, vote, or order of Congress can take effect, until it be presented to him for his approbation; if this be given, the measure is final, if not, it is sent back with his reasons, and the subject is further considered; if, after this, two-thirds of both houses still adhere, the measure, notwithstanding his disapprobation, is adopted. Unlike the King, who can do no wrong, the President is considered a fallible being, and capable of the commission of crimes of no ordinary magnitude. He is, therefore, made liable to impeachment, like all other civil officers of the United States, and, upon conviction, can be dismissed from office. Through the medium of elections, the American executive is amenable to the

people, by whom he is indirectly chosen, and this responsibility not only checks and restrains him, but all those to whom power has been delegated, within proper limits; such is the executive branch of the American government. The constitution has been founded on the theory, that all power necessarily emanates from the people."—

"The second branch of this Government, is the legislature; this consists of a Senate and House of Representatives; the members of the latter are chosen every two years, by the people; and those of the former, every six years, by the legislatures of the different states. It is in this branch that the American Government differs from the republics of ancient and modern times; it is this which makes it not a pure, but a representative democracy; and it is this which gives it such a decided superiority over all the governments in the world. Experience has demonstrated the impracticability of assembling a numerous collection of people, to frame laws, and their incompetency, when assembled, of judicious deliberation, and prompt and unbiassed decision. The passions of illiterate and unthinking men, are easily roused into action, and inflamed to madness; artful and designing demagogues are too apt to take advantage of

those imbecilities of our nature, and to convert them to the basest of purposes.—

"The American Legislature differs from the British Parliament, inasmuch as the one is circumscribed in its powers, and the other is *omnipotent.* The representatives of Congress are elected, as I have already observed, every second year, by the people of each state; these representatives, with the Senate, possess the whole powers of legislation.* One house of representatives alone, would be worse than pure democracy; another has therefore been wisely introduced, which consists of two members from each State, who are elected for six years, by the State Legislatures, and of whom one-third go out every two years. The Senate acts as a check upon the House of Representatives, and by their wisdom and age, controul the impetuosity of popular feeling, which might otherwise overflow, to the injury of the country. The House of Representatives, on the other hand, checks the aristocratic tendency of the Senate; and the executive serves as a coun-

* "It is worthy of remark, however," says an American judge, very correctly, "that in Congress the *whole* legislative power of the United States is *not* vested; an important part of that power was exercised by the people themselves, when they ordained and established the constitution."

terpoise to both. The qualifications of representatives are very simple. It is only required that they should be citizens of the United States, and have attained the age of twenty-five; the moment their period of service expires, they are again, unless re-elected, reduced to the rank and condition of citizens. If they should have acted in opposition to the wishes and interests of their constituents, while performing the functions of legislation, the people possess the remedy, and can exercise it without endangering the peace and harmony of society; the offending member is dropt, and his place supplied by another more worthy of confidence. This consciousness of responsibility on the part of the representatives, operates as a perpetual guarantee to the people, and protects and secures them in the enjoyment of their political and civil liberties."—

"The judicial power of the United States is vested in one supreme court, and other inferior tribunals, which have jurisdiction in all cases of law, equity, and fact. The judges hold their office during good behaviour, and are absolutely independent of the other co-ordinate branches of government; the judicial power is co-extensive with the legislature, and the decision of the supreme court on the constitution and laws of

the Union, is final; this court has original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors, public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party. In all other cases specified in the constitution, they have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and *fact*. The independence of the judiciary is essential to the perfection of the American Government, and equally necessary with representation to the security of the people's rights. Were this branch not independent, the consequences might be such as to excite the most serious alarm, and to render the constitution a mere instrument of tyranny; it is this department, literally, that carries the laws which the legislative authority has enacted, into operation—those laws, I mean, which concern the interests of individuals, and are of the highest importance to the peace and happiness of society. The judiciary stands as a check to the march of legislative omnipotence, and keeps that branch of the Government within the bounds of the constitution. Should Congress pass a law inconsistent with the spirit of this instrument, the judiciary interposes its authority, and sets it aside.—Should the American judges transcend their authority, the remedy is again at hand—they may be impeached, tried, and dismissed from office; but

lest this department should become too powerful, and in order to prevent such a possibility, the wisdom of the framers of the constitution has interposed a barrier in the trial by jury. For this inestimable privilege, the Americans are indebted to their English ancestors, who have transmitted to them this mode of trial, which so happily limits the judicial authority, and renders it dreadful, to none but the guilty."

"In the desultory observations I have had the honour to submit to you on this subject, I have not included the grand jury, which I conceive to be an essential improvement in the judiciary system of a free state. The more obstacles that are cast in the way of accusation, the greater will be the people's security. The grand jury, selected as it is, out of the most respectable body of citizens, interposes a shield between the accused and the accuser; and the innocent are thus protected from the infamy and disgrace of public accusation.—It will appear, from a careful examination of the instrument which we have been considering, that the courts of each state composing the Union, have cognizance of all crimes committed within the territorial limits of the state; and that, consequently, the federal courts have no jurisdiction, but in those cases which are specified in the

constitution, and for which the laws of the United States have made adequate provision. It has been asserted, by one of the judges of the supreme court, and I think his opinion may be depended upon, as incontrovertible, that the United States, as a federal government, have no *common law*, and consequently no indictment can be maintained in their courts, for offences merely at common law. 'The United States,' says De Lolme, 'must possess the law themselves, before they can communicate it to their judicial agents. Now the United States did not bring it with them from England; the constitution does not create it, and no act of Congress has assumed it.'"

I am ashamed to see how long an extract I have sent you; if, however, you would wish to understand the American Constitution thoroughly, I would most strongly recommend you to read the Federalist, a collection of papers written by Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Jay.

This work, so honourable to its authors, both as writers and politicians, exhibiting a profound knowledge of the human mind, and an intimate acquaintance with the great principles of law and government; replete with illustrations, drawn from that rich mine of political

experience, the history of Ancient and Modern Europe, characterized throughout by an elevated tone of patriotic sentiment, and political integrity, will be handed down to the latest posterity, an irrefragable proof that they are indebted to very superior minds for that system of harmony and beauty, which has been elicited from the chaos of the revolution. It will show you in what difficulties the framers of the American constitution were involved—what objects they had to effect; what dangers to avoid; what prejudices to dispel; what apprehensions to allay; what jealousies to assuage; what hostility to disarm; what discordant principles to harmonize; what opposite interests to unite; what conflicting claims to settle—how arduous was their task to induce individuals to concede a due portion of their natural rights; and the State legislatures to part with an adequate measure of their authority; to give to the Federal Head sufficient vigour for the discharge of its functions, without power to encroach on the privileges of individual States; to distinguish between those legislative and judicial arrangements which ought to rest with the local administrations, and those which the public good required to be referred to the general Congress.

For a commentary on the American Constitution, I must refer you to her past history and present prosperity. Not that I impute her advancement altogether to her constitution. No nation was ever blest by nature and fortune with such rich materials of national prosperity; and bad, indeed, must have been the Government, and despicable the population, which had not flourished under such advantages.

But her advancement in wealth and prosperity has been too uniform to be ascribed to accident. Prosperous gales, and favourable currents, have certainly increased her velocity; but for her steady progress ever since the Revolution, she is mainly indebted to the admirable internal machinery, which propels her in her course.

That the framers of the constitution have not succeeded in preventing the occasional exercise, on the part of the general Government, of undue influence in the affairs of the individual States, is evident from a document, which lies before me, in a New York newspaper, of last month. It is a message from De Witt Clinton, the Governor of the State of New York, to the Legislature of the State, complaining of the interference of the officers of Government, to prevent his election. I will make a few extracts

from it.* With the high rank of Governor Clinton, as a scholar and statesman, and with his indefatigable, and successful efforts to pro-

* "That many of the officers of the United States have for a number of years acted very improperly, by interfering in the elections of this State, must be known to every man in the community who has had an opportunity for information, and whose mind is not steeled by prejudice against the admission of truth. It is well known, that in this State, the National administration has for some years selected, in almost every case of any importance, its officers in opposition to the State administration; and this undoubtedly operates as an encouragement to organized and disciplined hostility. It is a virtual instruction to its officers to oppose; and it is an invitation to all who are desirous of the patronage of the general Government, to embark in the opposition. The interference of the officers of the general Government in state politics, in 1798, was, at that period, a subject of general and well-founded complaint. In the interval between my first election and entrance into office, I took the liberty of apprising Mr. Monroe, the President of the United States, of the obtrusive intermeddling of the officers of the general Government in our state politics, and of my earnest hope that, under his administration, this system, so justly and so generally reprobated, would be no longer tolerated. In discharging this duty to the Republic, I entertained every wish to promote the most amicable relations between the General and State Administration; and I can truly declare, that no act of hostility has been, in any shape, manifested or encouraged, on the part of the authorities of this State.

"The documents which I have now the honour to transmit to you, do not extend beyond the last general election, and the agitations preceding and accompanying it. At the very period when the officers of the United States, who have behaved so reprehensibly, ought to have conducted themselves with the greatest delicacy; when a legislature was to be

mote the interests of the State of New York, you are well acquainted.

The message was accompanied with an immense mass of documents and certificates, to substantiate the charges it contained.

chosen that was to appoint the electors of President; and when the second officer of the United States was a candidate for the office of Governor, all the influence of their offices was put in requisition, and brought into activity. Although deprived of the right of being chosen, yet, if in the exercise of the right of choosing, they are permitted, by the power of office, to influence elections, what security have the people for a pure Legislature—for an independent Congress, or for an incorrupt College of electors.

"The Navy-yard is situate in Brooklyn, King's county, and contains about 40 acres. Large sums of money have been expended there in building and repairing ships of war, and an extensive establishment is maintained in that place. The documents, herewith transmitted, will show, that under the principal direction of Mr. Decatur, the naval store-keeper, the blacksmiths, caulkers, carpenters, labourers, and other persons in the public employ at the Navy-yard, were brought up to vote; that he was assisted in his operations by other officers of that establishment; and that improper attempts were made, in a variety of shapes, to operate on the electors. The whole presents a scene of undue influence and extraneous intrusion, revolting to every friend of Republican Government.

"The patronage of the Custom-house in New York is immense. There are no printed documents which disclose the number and compensation of the officers employed in that establishment. I can, therefore, only state, as a matter of estimate, that the patronage of that establishment approximates to 200,000 dollars annually. The surveyor of the port, Mr. Joseph G. Swift, has the immediate direction of the

Were such disputes to become common, they might sow the seeds of civil discord, and prove fatal to the very existence of the Confederation.

inspectors and other subordinate officers of the Customs; and although he has not the power of displacement, yet they are in such a state of dependance, that their personal comfort must directly, and their official existence indirectly, depend on his volition. In order that there might be no doubt of his determination to interfere in the State election, he reported, as a member of a committee to a public meeting in King's county, the resolution marked N. When the situation, connection, and political principles of this officer of the United States are considered, there can be no doubt, but that he had previously ascertained the sense of his political superior, and that he was instructed to act accordingly. In pursuance of this example, the two inspectors of the customs at Staten Island, interfered in the most improper manner in the election.

"The law, regulating the compensation of the inspectors of the customs, authorizes the allowance of three dollars a day, for the days that they are actually employed. These documents prove, that seven of those officers were employed in electioneering; and I presume it will not be denied, that each individual received three dollars a day from the public treasury when so engaged.

"The conduct of the Judge of the United States of the northern district of this State, is daily before the eyes of the legislature. The marshals have acted in coincidence with the general current of extraneous influence; and in their selections of deputies to take the census, they have, as far as I can learn, studiously excluded all those applicants that were friendly to the State administration. The conduct of Mr. Robert Tillotson, one of the dictrict attornies, and nephew of the President of the United States, is glanced at in the paper marked X.; and that of Mr. Jacob Sutherland, the other district attorney, and nephew of the Secretary of the Navy,

It is a common idea in England, that the perpetuity of the Union is already endangered by its extent. I am not disposed to think that its present magnitude need excite any appre-

is mentioned in the paper marked Y. There are three newspapers employed by the Government for publishing the laws of the Union, in this State; and these consisted of the Argus, National Advocate, and Ontario Messenger, until within a few weeks, when the business was taken from the last paper, and committed to the Times, in Batavia, a gazette of recent date, of comparatively limited circulation, and hostile to the State administration.

"There are, I believe, 674 Postmasters in this State; and I should estimate the aggregate patronage of the department, in the State at large, at 100,000 dollars annually. During the able and impartial administration of the predecessor of the present Postmaster-General, these offices were conferred without any reference to State politics. Attempts have been made, at different times, to cause the removal of Postmasters, friendly to the State administration, and I am sorry to say, that in several instances they have succeeded.

"It is, I conceive, impossible to resist the unfavourable conclusions which must be drawn from the body of testimony now submitted to you, making full allowances for exaggeration or error, for the influence of prejudice, and the operation of improper motives. And admitting that a considerable portion of the allegations may be successfully refuted, yet still there will remain a sufficient number of strong and established facts, to prove a concert of exertions on the part of the officers of the national Government; in the Navy-yard, the Custom-house, the General Post-office, and in the Judicial, and some other institutions of that Government operating in our local elections: and which demonstrates the existence of an organized and disciplined corps, and the obtrusion of extraneous

hensions for its safety; and the accession of a new State does not necessarily expose it to additional hazard. Such an accession may, and does, in many cases, increase the security of the

influence for the purpose of promoting the aspirations of ambition—of securing the possession of authority, or of breaking down the power of the State, by the encouragement of intestine divisions: and this is a case, in which the maxim—*He orders the commission of a crime who does not forbid it when it is in his power*—may be justly and emphatically applied. The least intimation from the proper quarter, would have effectually prevented these notorious and alarming evils.

"A Government of influence and corruption, is the worst possible shape which a republican Government can assume; because, under the forms of freedom, it combines the essence of tyranny. And although I am far from saying, that this is now the case, yet the first attempts to give a wrong direction to the authority of Government, ought to be resisted. Slavery is ever preceded by sleep. And the liberties of free States are more frequently prostrated by fraud, than by force. In the intelligence and patriotism of the body of our fellow-citizens, we may, I trust, rely for the preservation of our free Government. And with an anxious desire to merit their good opinion, by a faithful and independent discharge of my important duties, and with an entire disregard of any hostility which may arise from any quarter, in consequence of my pursuing this course, I submit this communication to the representatives of the people, fully persuaded that when the personal animosities and political agitations of the times are buried in oblivion, I shall be considered by impartial posterity, as having endeavoured to deserve well of the Republic, by my conduct on this occasion.

"DE WITT CLINTON.

"*Albany, 17th January*, 1821."

Confederation, by effecting a more accurate balance of conflicting interests.

That in the revolutions of time, the interests of different parts of the Union may be so opposed to each other, that sound policy may dictate a separation, or that individual States or Territories may secede, in disgust or irritation, as the territory of Missouri threatened to do, is by no means an improbable event; but I confess, that I see no reason why, in the ordinary course of things, this grand Confederation might not continue for ages.

And grieved, indeed, should I be to anticipate its early dissolution. It is destined, I trust, to exhibit to the world at large a grand and successful experiment in legislation. It is destined also, I sincerely believe, to awaken such of the European nations as still groan under the yoke of despotism to a consciousness of their physical strength, and the exertion of their moral energies, and to reveal to their infatuated monarchs the destruction which awaits them if they persist in an obstinate adherence to the political maxims of a darker age.

I do not know how far my opinions may be influenced by prejudice, but I confess I have not yet learned to prefer the republican insti-

tutions of America to the British Constitution; nor do I believe that the mass of the community in America enjoy practically a greater security of person or property than in Great Britain. Indeed, from what I learned of the composition of juries in the wilder parts of America, I am persuaded that throughout extensive portions of the United States, neither person nor property are as secure as in Great Britain; but I must reserve details on this subject till we meet.

Letter XXXVIII.

Newbury Port, 21st Feb. 1821.

I REMOVED from the tavern at Portland to a respectable boarding-house, where I found, among other persons, the Governor of the State, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and eight or ten of the most respectable members. There was a common table at which all ordinarily assembled, and a common sitting-room, where they seemed to pass their leisure in reading the newspapers and smoking segars. For the very first time, since my arrival in America, I had actually at this boarding-house a parlour to myself, which arose from the circumstance of its being, in the first instance, designed for my bed-room. It was a luxury, indeed, to feel alone, and likely to remain so, without shutting myself up in my bed-chamber, in which I have lived for the last year, when not in society, or on the road. My hopes of retirement in my parlour, however, were soon shaken, for the landlord brought a gentleman to me, who, after conversing a few minutes,

said he was come to take me into the dining-room, to introduce me to the company. He was a young lawyer, gentlemanly in his manners; and I found afterwards, had been educated at Harvard College, Cambridge. As we sat down to dinner, at one o'clock, he introduced me to most of the gentlemen by name, and among others, to the Secretary of the State. The rest of the company, although I doubt not intelligent and acute, I certainly should not (at least on my first arrival in America,) have *guessed* to be a body of legislators. The landlady presided, with Mrs. ——, the wife of the speaker, on her right; and the landlord sat down towards the close of dinner, after having waited on his guests, and assisted the waiters till all the company were helped. He was very civil, and came into my room half-a-dozen times, in the course of the evening, to look at my fire, and see if I wanted any thing An English landlord could not have been more respectful and attentive. In the course of the evening, the young lawyer also paid me a second visit, with real good nature, bringing in a friend, "lest I should be lonely." I give you these little incidents to show the habits of the country. As they found me busy writing, however, they stopped only half an hour, and retired, saying

they would not interrupt me, but would attend me to any church in the morning to which I liked to go.

In the morning, accordingly, the young lawyer accompanied me to the Episcopal church, where a young minister preached on the importance of contending for the faith once delivered to the saints; a subject suggested by the activity of Unitarian efforts, and by an act then before the legislature, which it was supposed would operate unfavourably on the interests of religion. The church was profusely adorned with festoons of "Christmas;" and on one side of the pulpit was neatly printed, in large letters of spruce fir, "Unto us a Child is born;" on the other, "Unto us a Son is given." The congregation was respectable in numbers and appearance. In the afternoon, we went to the Calvinistic Congregationalist church, (places of worship, of all denominations, are here called churches,) where we found a congregation still more numerous. An elderly minister gave us a logical, metaphysical, scriptural sermon, on "the immutability of God." On my return home, among my landlord's books, I found Scott's Bible, Burder's Village Sermons, Baxter's Saint's Rest, Watts' Hymn Book, and Saurin's Sermons. I added to them the Dairyman's

Daughter, a favourite travelling companion of mine; since, independently of the deep interest of its simple tale, and its exquisite and touching picture of rustic piety, it places so distinctly before me the village spires, the rustic cottages, and the sequestered lanes of my native country, and the hoary locks and venerable figures of her aged peasants. I think I told you how delighted I was at finding this little tract in a shop at Mobile, in that land of darkness, the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.

While in Portland, I found the snow in many places two feet deep for a great distance, and perhaps 14 inches deep where it was the thinnest. I counted 22 sleighs at the church door on Sunday. I saw the town under unfavourable circumstances; but it had a very respectable appearance, many of the houses being large and handsome, with extensive courts before the doors, ornamented with shrubs and grass-plots. The bay, and the adjacent scenery, are very picturesque.

I have omitted to tell you, that the young lawyer begged to introduce me to the Governor and his lady, whose sitting-room was next to mine. I found Mr. K—, a sensible, gentlemanly plain man. I should imagine that he had talent, activity, and perseverance, and would not

slumber at his post. He has ordered the new State to be explored in different directions, and is procuring accurate surveys of many parts of it. He is a farmer and a merchant, and has had ten ships discharging timber in Liverpool at one time. His political principles are opposed to those of his brother, Mr. R. K——, who you know is a federalist; and who, as a statesman, has not more than one or two superiors, if any, in the United States. The Governor conversed a good deal about New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, whose proceedings are naturally viewed with a good deal of interest in the adjoining State of Maine. I understand that the road along the Kennebec River, and the Chaudière, to Quebec, is so far completed as to be passable, and that the distance from Portland to Quebec, by that route, is only 270 miles. I have no doubt it will soon be the fashion to return to the United States by this road from Quebec, after completing the summer tour to "The Springs," Niagara, and Canada. It was by the side of the Kennebec, you will recollect, when the whole of that country was a wilderness, that the traitor Arnold led his troops to Quebec.

There is now a large settlement, and very good society, both at Bath and Hallowell, near the Kennebec. At the latter, Mr. V——,

an old settler, and ci-devant member of Parliament, and, I believe, several other English gentlemen, reside. If I had had time, and the road had been passable, I wished to have gone to Hallowell, 60 miles from Portland, as there is a good deal of business done there, and I had letters to the principal people.

In this new State of Maine, I feel an increasing interest. When I landed in America, little more than a year ago, she was only a district attached to Massachusetts, although as large as Massachusetts, and the four other New England States taken together. I was in the capitol, during the debate on her admission, which was unexpectedly impeded by a *ruse-de-guerre* of the southern planters. It happened that the applications for admission from Maine and from Missouri were referred to the same Committee; and the southern interest prevailing in that Committee, they united the two applications in one report, in which they recommended that Maine and Missouri be admitted into the Union. By this means, they endeavoured to neutralize the votes of those eastern members, who were solicitous for the admission of Maine, but inveterately opposed to the admission of Missouri, till that provision of her constitution, permitting slavery within her territories,

should be expunged. With the result of that debate, which almost rent asunder the Confederation, you are already acquainted, and you are aware that Maine attained the rank of an independent State in 1820.

We left Portland at five o'clock in the morning, on the 19th. The roads were so blocked up with snow, that the mail and passengers were obliged to be carried in an open sleigh. It was very cold, the thermometer, I should think, not being above zero; but the moon shone so brightly on the new fallen snow, that we should have been sorry to have missed this beautiful winter-scene, by being cooped up in a close carriage. We reached Saco, 15 miles, to breakfast, when it was determined to despatch us in two sleighs, our unicorn equipage being found inconvenient in the snow-drifts, from having two horses abreast. My servant and I were put into a tandem sleigh, about as large as a parlour coal-box, or a little larger, the driver standing up to drive. Our two companions followed with one horse in a similar sleigh; and away we went over the snow-drifts, the music of our bells resembling a concert of Jews'-harps. Sometimes the bells of our companion suddenly ceased, or literally "*dropt*," for, on looking behind, we often found that their horse had

partially disappeared,—his chin resting on a snow-drift, and his countenance exhibiting a most piteous expression of helplessness. At other times our horses fell through, and it was with great difficulty we extricated them; the snow being sufficiently frozen to be of a very inconvenient consistence, although not always hard enough to carry us rapidly on its surface. Our horses were sometimes prostrate three or four times in twenty yards. Once we were obliged to be cut out, and at another time to have more than twenty men and several oxen to clear our way, the drifts on the road being from six to twelve feet deep. As we had excellent drivers, however, who drove with great rapidity where the road would admit of it, we reached Portsmouth, sixty miles from Portland, at four o'clock—eleven hours—after an amusing and agreeable, and in some degree, adventurous ride. The cold morning was succeeded, as is often the case in this fickle climate, by a beautiful warm day; and although the road, except in the vicinity of the pine hills, is rather level, the fir groves and large masses of rock, often combine with the open sea, which is almost constantly in sight, to form rather interesting views. The country is tolerably well settled, and we passed through several little towns,

but the houses being less frequently painted than in other parts of New England, have neither the same neat nor flourishing aspect. The people, however, seem every-where busy and robust.

Portsmouth is a noble harbour on the Piscataqua, which is so deep that the vessels discharge along the wharf; and so rapid, that even in this winter, the severest which has been known in America for at least forty years, its navigation has never been interrupted. A navy yard is established near the town, where "the Congress" and other ships of war were built, and where they are now building a seventy-four gun frigate. As the best boarding-house in Portsmouth was full, we went to the stage inn, rather a dirty scrambling tavern; where I found at breakfast the next morning, amid a motley group, one of the judges and several lawyers. The supreme court was to be opened early in the morning, and as it was before my hours of commercial calls, I attended to hear the jury sworn in, and the judge's charge. Both the grand and petty jury, in the appearance of which I could discern no difference, seemed to be composed of respectable yeomanry, of about the same rank as our farmers of £300 to £500 per annum. They listened with great

attention while the judge read (not spoke, which took greatly from its effect,) a plain sensible charge, much to the point. The aspect of the court in general pleased me, from the homely suitable appearance of those of whom it was composed; home-spun clothes, with large buttons and long waists, waistcoats with the old triangular indenture or pointed flaps, and hats with good broad respectable brims; the absence, in fact, of all affectation of fashion, or awkward attempts at city spruceness. This has pleased me particularly throughout New England, and forms a contrast with the style of dress which meets the eye generally in passing along the road on the sea-board of the middle and southern States, where blue coats, black waistcoats, and blue pantaloons, produce a monotony far less agreeable and picturesque, than a variety of dress adapted, or apparently adapted, to the various employments of the wearers.

I had little opportunity of seeing the society of Portsmouth, as my stay was so short, that I preferred drinking tea *en famille*, with a respectable merchant to whom I was introduced, to joining a large evening party of 50 or 60, to which I was invited. At his house, I was quite in a family party; his rosy children drink-

ing their large basins of milk at the tea-table. He was an agreeable cultivated man, and in the course of our conversation, he gave me an account of the Gulf of the Green Mountains, in Vermont, where we were benighted in the autumn, which led me to suppose we had really been in some danger. He said, "that on one side of the road, for a great distance, there was a precipice at least 50 feet deep, and that nothing would induce him to attempt the passage at night, although well acquainted with it." From his description of its sublimity, he made me regret extremely that I did not pass it in the day. One of my young Canadian female companions, now settled in Philadelphia, was *raised*, as they say here in Portsmouth, and agreeably to my promise, I called on her father, but I had no time to accept his civilities. Her manners and those of some other ladies from Portsmouth, convinced me that I should have found some pleasant society if I had remained there a few days. I set off, however, early this morning, and reached this place this afternoon. Towards sunset (or sun-down, as it is always called in this country,) I walked down to the mouth of the Merrimack, and had a noble view of the open sea. The roads in this part of the country are excellent, and the finger-posts are so

like ours, pointing to Salisbury, Ipswich, &c. that it was easy to imagine myself in the south of England. In most towns in New England, the houses generally stand alone, in a court or garden, with lofty trees in their immediate vicinity. The inn was a large brick house, in which I had a spacious and well-furnished bedroom. I rose very early the next morning, and spent half an hour in a churchyard in the neighbourhood, in the hope of seeing the sun rise clear out of the Atlantic, a few hours after he had risen on you all in the East; but a little invidious cliff intervened. The ocean, however, was beautiful; and this quiet churchyard, on a foreign shore, gave rise to many solemn and very interesting reflections.

After breakfast I delivered my letters, but the only gentleman whom I was likely to visit, was engaged to attend the funeral of a neighbour and his wife, who were, that afternoon, to be deposited in the same grave. Their history was really affecting, as I afterwards read it in the newspapers. He was formerly a Methodist minister, in England, but had, for some years, been settled as a merchant, at Newbury Port, where he was much respected for his piety and benevolence. In coming from England, their vessel was struck with some large masses of floating ice, and before the pas-

sengers were aware of their danger, the crew, and I believe the captain, had deserted her, and put off in the long-boat. As death seemed inevitable, he went down into the cabin, that he and his wife might die in each other's arms. She said she "was resigned, if death was inevitable, but that her mother would be so distressed to hear of the accident, or never to hear of them again, that she wished he would make one attempt to save them." He went on deck, and found the second boat, got it alongside, and at last succeeded in getting his wife and some other passengers into it. They were then entangled in the ice, and 300 miles from shore, but the hand in which they trusted, preserved them from going down together into a watery grave. They have since been the instruments of much good in their neighbourhood, and as they were "lovely and pleasant in their lives, so in death they were not divided." They died the same day, and I saw them carried in the same hearse, to the same grave, attended by a very large concourse of people.

The 22nd was Washington's birth-day, which, in the principal cities, generally gives rise to public dinners and balls. Here the afternoon seemed to be made a holiday, and the young men and women turned out in great numbers, very well-dressed.

Letter XXXIX.

Salem, Feb. 1821.

A LONGER residence in the principal cities of the United States, and a more intimate acquaintance with their inhabitants, have given me a better opportunity than I had previously enjoyed, of forming the estimate you request from me of the present state of religion and morals on this side of the Atlantic. You must, however, make great allowance for errors in so difficult and delicate an undertaking, and will receive with peculiar caution, on such a subject, any general conclusions deduced from the observations of an individual traveller. You may, however, consider the favourable representations which I made, in a letter from Boston last autumn, with respect to opportunities of public worship, and the prevalence of evangelical preaching, as applicable to all the principal towns and cities from Portland to Savannah.

But churches are not religion; nor are the ministrations of a pastor an unerring criterion of the piety of his hearers. In a country,

however, in which contributions to places of public worship are, for the most part, voluntary, a liberal dissemination of sacred edifices is a very favourable symptom; while a large number of faithful ministers, and the frequent occurrence of extensive congregations listening attentively to unwelcome truths from pastors appointed by their own election, and dependant on them for support, afford something more than a vague presumption of the existence of no inconsiderable degree of vital piety in the community.

My favourable impressions were strengthened as I proceeded, by noticing the attention generally paid on the Atlantic coast to the external observance of the Sabbath; by meeting continually with Bibles, and other religious books, in the steam-boats and houses of entertainment; and by witnessing the efforts so frequently apparent for the diffusion of religious truth.

Theological institutions for the education of ministers, extensive, well-endowed, and respectable, often arrest the attention of the traveller as he passes along the road; while a very little intercourse with society convinces him that associations of a more private nature, for preparing indigent young men for missionary services, together with Bible Societies, Mission-

ary Societies, and Sunday School and Tract Societies, are liberally scattered.

I felt neither disposed nor called upon to deprive myself of the pleasure I derived from these favourable indications, by reflecting that they were no accurate measure of the *degree* in which personal religion prevails. I was quite aware, that in many cases, and especially where there is no establishment, churches are sometimes multiplied by the very dissensions of a congregation; that a proportion of the active effort engaged in the promotion of religious objects, is often very little connected with Christian principle; and that respect for external forms may survive the extinction of a devotional spirit. But at the same time, I felt persuaded, that although a love of popularity may enrol the worldly in the list of contributors to religious societies, or engage them as public advocates in a sacred cause, still that diligent performance of the routine of official duties, and those self-denying and persevering efforts, to which religious societies are usually indebted both for their origin and prosperity, imply, in most cases, the existence of a higher principle, and spring from a purer source.

My subsequent experience has convinced me that I was not incorrect in the persuasion in

which I indulged myself as I passed along, that I was always in the vicinity of some, at least, who were united in Christian sympathy with the whole church-militant on earth, and were travelling to a better country, amidst the hopes and fears, the trials and consolations, which chequer the lot, and form the character of the Christian in every quarter of the globe. Sometimes, in the course of my route, as you will have observed in my letters, some little incident would give peculiar force to this persuasion, or the surrounding scenery impart to it a particular interest.

At Boston I had the pleasure, as I have already mentioned, of an interview with the venerable Dr. Worcester, * and received much

* He soon afterwards sailed for New Orleans, partly in the hope of repairing his shattered constitution, in a southern climate, and partly in order to visit the missionary settlements of Elliot and Brainerd, in the prosperity of which he was deeply interested. He arrived safe in the Mississippi; and after surmounting, with much pain and weariness, the fatigues and perils of the wilderness, with which his frail frame seemed ill qualified to conflict, he reached Brainerd on the 25th May, feeble and exhausted. "He was able to attend to no business, and to speak but little. In few words, he addressed the members of the church, and some of the congregation. After that, though much exhausted, he expressed a particular desire that the children of the school, according to their request, should come in. 'I want,' he said, feebly, and with tears,

interesting intelligence from the Missionary Board, and its excellent treasurer, Mr. Evarts. There I found an association of young men, who have set apart a portion of their income for the establishment of a missionary press at Jerusalem; and there I heard of a society of young ladies, who meet together once a week, and devote the proceeds of their evening's sewing, or other work, to some charitable purpose, and of another society of young labouring men, each of whom devotes a given number of hours each week to the cultivation of a particular field, the produce of which is sent

'I want to see all my dear children,' (the Indians,) and to take them by the hand.' They were then called in, and he took each of them by the hand, as they passed by his dying bed. Having all passed round in procession, they stood and sung a hymn. He was affected to tears most of the time. He then, in the most affectionate manner, addressed them, which, in return, melted them to tears.....

There, on the 7th of June, in the morning,—at that consecrated spot in the wilderness, dearer far to him, than any city or mansion on earth, this servant of the church, worn out with fatigue, and exhausted with sickness, lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and, with a delightful smile upon his countenance, fell asleep."—*Wood's Sermon on the death of Dr. Worcester.*

As Dr. Worcester was a man of more than common endowments, both natural and acquired, it may be interesting to see in what light he viewed, in the near prospect of death, his zealous exertions in the cause of missions. In a letter, written, I believe, on his passage to New Orleans, he says, "What the end is to be, is not yet to be read. It may be the final

as their joint subscription to the Board of Missions. There also I had the gratification of seeing Henry Martyn in an American dress, going forth in the character of a departed saint, to advance in the West, the cause in which he himself fell so early and lamented a sacrifice in the East; to fan, in the very scenes where his beloved Henry Brainerd had laboured, the missionary zeal which that eminent man had kindled; and to animate every succeeding American missionary by an affecting proof, that a ray of fervent piety, though emanating from the solitudes of an American forest, may pene-

exit from all earthly scenes, and the dropping of this slender tabernacle, though far away from its kindred dust, yet in the place, whether in the sea, or upon the land, appointed by sovereign goodness for its rest till the rising day.—It may be the accomplishment of something for life and immortality to the wanderers of the wilderness, or dwellers in the dark places of the earth, by an instrumentality so feeble, as to make it manifest—that the excellency of the power must have been of God.—One thing is settled in my mind, and that is, a full and delightful conviction, that the cause of missions has never held too high a place in my estimation, or engaged too large a share of my attention. It transcends, immeasurably transcends, the highest estimation of every created mind. And what is the sacrifice of health, what the sacrifice of life, to such a cause? Be the event what it may—recovered health, or early death—I never can regret what I have done in this work,—but only that I have done so little, and with a heart so torpid."

trate even the cloisters of Cambridge, and revive a fainting bosom in the deserts of Persia, or Hindostan.

While visiting a friend in New York, I was informed that it was in the adjoining room that the agents of the African Colonization Society, and their supporters, assembled for prayer the night previous to the sailing of the first expedition, of whose melancholy fate we had just received the intelligence.

In Philadelphia, the Sunday after my arrival, I heard our excellent Liturgy, for the first time, on these western shores; and the impression it was calculated to make on my mind was deepened by the circumstance of its being sacrament Sunday, and by the stillness and decorum which pervaded the city to a degree that I had never witnessed, even in England. Here I was also much gratified by meeting with Bishop White, nearly ninety years of age, one of the bishops who went over to England after the Revolution, to be consecrated, in order that "episcopal authority might be transmitted to the latest generations of America, through the legitimate channel in which it had flowed since the laying on of Apostolic hands." Our excellent Granville Sharp, and his active efforts in this cause, came forcibly to my recollection.

While drinking tea with a friend in Baltimore, one of the females of the family came in, who, I learnt, had been attending an adult-school, in which there were 180 Negroes. She told me there were 600 Negroes in the Sunday-schools in the city; and that they had lately formed themselves into a Bible Association, and been received into connection with the Baltimore Bible Society. At the same place, a letter was shown to me just received from the black person, on whom the management of the expedition of the Colonization Society devolved, on the White agents falling a sacrifice to the dreadful mortality with which the settlers were visited. On a desert shore, deprived by death of the White conductors, to whom he and his companions looked for protection—depressed by the successive deaths of his black friends, and harassed by the delays, irregularities, and suspicious conduct of the native chiefs—he writes in a strain of fortitude and piety, deserving of imitation. "But, thank God," he says, "though cut off from my friends, and relations, and family, and the comforts of civilized life, our people dropping off daily, myself labouring under great bodily weakness, and an important charge lying upon me, I can truly say, that I rejoice that I came to Africa. O, that what few

days I am spared in this world, it may be to do good." And yet this person, I was told, was once an American slave.

When visiting General Washington's tomb, in his favourite retreat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potowmac, my black attendant informed me, that the domestics, about thirty, I believe, in number, and principally slaves, assembled morning and evening for family worship, at which the Hon. B. W——, the present occupier of Mount Vernon, and a Judge of the Supreme Court, presides.

In the seclusion of the forests of the Mississippi, I have seen a solitary planter take down a number of Dr. Adam Clarke's Bible, and inquire, with great interest, if I could tell him any particulars of so good a man: his wife listening attentively, and pronouncing a eulogium, which would have made the Doctor blush.*

* Dr. Clarke's is the favourite Commentary in the southern and western, and Mr. Scott's in the northern and eastern States. "Besides these English editions, amounting to at least 12,000 copies, I have received from an American bookseller of respectability, the particulars of eight editions, printed within the territories of the United States, at Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Hartford, from the year 1808 to 1819, amounting to 25,250 copies; besides an edition of the Sacred Text only, with my father's references, contents of chapters, and introduction to the several books of Scripture. 'The

But it was at the missionary settlements at Elliot and Brainerd, that my feelings were most strongly excited. Never shall I forget my sensations the two nights I passed in Mr. Kingsbury's little room, which was kindly and courteously assigned to me during my stay. A log-cabin, detached from the other wooden buildings, in the middle of a boundless forest, in an Indian country, consecrated, if I may be allowed the expression, by standing on missionary ground, and by forming at once the dormitory and the sanctuary of a "man of God;" it seemed to be, indeed, the prophet's chamber, with "the bed and the table, and the stool, and the candlestick." It contained, also, a little book-case, with a valuable selection of pious books, periodical, biographical, and devotional; comprising many an old acquaintance, which I was glad to meet in this foreign land, and which enable Mr. Kingsbury, in his few moments of leisure, to converse with many, who have long since joined the "spirits of just men made per-

retail price of all the English copies, taking their number as above stated, (which I believe to be short of the truth,) would, I find, amount to the sum of £67,600; that of the American copies, to £132,300; making together £199,000. Probably no theological work can be pointed out, which produced, by its sale, during the author's life-time, an equal sum."—*Scott's Life.*

fect," or to sympathize with his fellow-labourers in Otaheite, Africa, or Hindostan.

The preceding particulars will convince you that some indications of genuine, influential, religious principle occur, even to the rapid traveller, in almost every part of the United States. During my residence in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, I have seen that there is in each of them an extensive society of exemplary Christians; and I have had the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with many whose virtues I would gladly emulate, and whose characters are an ornament to their profession.

But you will wish to know in what *degree* vital piety prevails in the community, and I regret that I cannot tell you more explicitly; the subject does not admit of precision. The extent in which religion prevails here is known only to the Searcher of hearts; but there is the strongest reason to believe, that it is very considerable. Indeed, I am disposed to think, that a *cursory* traveller, visiting England and America, without prejudice, and with equal opportunities of observation, would draw a more favourable inference, with respect to the state of religion in the *Atlantic cities* of the eastern and middle States of the latter, than in the towns or cities

of the former. Whether a long residence in the respective places, would not lead to some change in his opinions, or at least hold them in suspense, I am at a loss to decide; but I believe it would.

I confine my supposition to the Atlantic cities, because the benighted shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and many portions of the western wilds, possess few features in common with our favoured country, and should rather be compared with our colonial possessions in the East or West Indies. Indeed, I might include extensive districts in the back parts of many of the Atlantic States, where population is thinly scattered, and opportunities of public worship occur only once or twice a month. In some of these, I thought I observed great coldness in religious concerns; the unfrequent return of public ordinances rendering the inhabitants rather less than more willing to avail themselves of them when offered. I felt more disappointed in such districts, than in the frontier settlements. In the latter, some spiritual as well as temporal privations are naturally to be expected; though I thought their inhabitants often exhibited greater solicitude for schools and churches than those of the former. In fact, the new settlers from the Atlantic States have, in many cases,

participated in the advantages of that general revival of religion which promises to be the characteristic of modern times; and before their zeal has had time to cool in solitude and separation, it has often secured a provision for those religious ordinances by which it may be cherished and sustained. But the back parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia were settled in less auspicious days; and we must not be surprised if the flame of piety, burning less brightly at that time, even on the coast, should grow pale and sickly when removed into an atmosphere which ministered little to its support.

In a religious point of view, the dispersion of the population by emigration to the western country, assumes a very serious aspect; and there are intelligent men in this country, who regard it with the most gloomy forebodings.*

* The following observations on this subject, from the pen of Dr. Jarvis, of Boston, deserve the most serious attention. Alluding to the provision of the Federal Constitution for the toleration, but not the support of Christianity, he observes:—

"This single measure has altered the whole aspect of affairs. The constitution of the general government immediately became a model for the constitutions of the several States. Thus a force was created, which sapped the foundations of all establishments: and though the religious institutions of Massachusetts and Connecticut have been seated deep in the habits and affections of the people, yet the constantly accumulating power of this formidable lever has, at length, heaved them from their base. It is now left to men, as individuals,

It must frequently happen, that the new set-tlers, within the ordinary range of a minister's

to associate for the purpose of public worship, as they would associate for any object merely of private and wordly interest. In our cities, and other large places, this may be done. Enough may be found already united in sentiment, to unite in the formation of a Christian congregation. But, when you look beyond them, and contemplate the small villages and hamlets, the population of which is thinly scattered over an area of many miles, you behold the same divisions rending society into shreds and patches, various in texture, and form, and colouring. The few of each religious denomination cannot agree to worship together, and are unable, from the smallness of their number, to support separate places of worship. The consequence is, that they are left destitute of the means of religion. The sanctity of the Lord's-day is either violated by an attention to worldly concerns, or is observed in a manner worse than the violation, by being made the occasion of idleness and vice. In this part of our country, (the State of Massachusetts,) religion was supported by law, until it became the habit of the community; and, therefore, it still continues to act with the force of an establishment, as a wheel continues to turn, after the force applied to it is stopped. Yet, even here, we are beginning to feel the evils arising from division, and to feel them severely. Your parishes are crumbling into ruins. Party is arranged against party. To settle a minister becomes impracticable; or, if two or more are settled, the scanty pittance, given to them for their support, obliges them to escape from the horrors of poverty, by removal."

"If it be so here, what must it be in our newly settled territories, where religion has no nursing fathers or nursing mothers? One clergyman, it is said, is necessary for a thousand souls. Be it so; but when it is remembered, that this thousand may be composed of five or six different denominations, it will be seen at once how the divisions of the Christian

exertions are too few and too poor to maintain a single pastor, still less to maintain one

community, by increasing its wants, increase the difficulty of supplying them. Can it be a matter of surprise, that, in the midst of all that life and energy, which are exhibited in our new settlements, the goodly plant of Christianity should have taken no root, and is withering and dying for want of nourishment? The sound of the axe may ring through the forest; the plough may pierce the sod, which had been before undisturbed for centuries, excepting by the hunter's tread; the streams may be pent up in their narrow bed, and powers not their own, given them, to turn the mill-wheel, and afford nourishment and protection to man; villages and towns, and cities, may spring up and flourish: but while the smoke is seen to curl from many a domestic hearth, where, alas! are the altars?—where is the village spire, pointing to heaven, and telling to the distant traveller, that he is approaching the abode of Christian, as well as of civilized man? My brethren, the divisions, the hapless divisions, of this little community, weaken their strength, and deprive them of all the means of grace. Their children remain unbaptized and uninstructed. The incense of prayer never ascends from the altar of their hearts. The walls of the sanctuary never reverberate with their praises. The memorial of their Redeemer's love never touches their lips. The oblation of charity is never offered by their hand. In the first generation, religion wears itself away by a gradual decline; in the second, it can hardly be said to have existed. As our population increases, therefore, the prospect is shrouded by a more portentous gloom: and there is great danger, that, with all the exertions which the pious and benevolent can make, we shall become a nation of heathens, and not of Christians." —*Jarvis's Sermon*, pp. 9—11.—See an interesting article in the British Review of February, 1824, on "American Episcopacy," in which there are many valuable particulars respect-

for each of the five or six different sects into which they may be divided.* It is in cases of

ing the state of religion, and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the American Union.

*The following extract from the interesting "Appeal on behalf of the Diocese of Ohio," will illustrate this remark. The Bishop of this Diocese, the Right Rev. Philander Chase, the only Bishop beyond the Alleghany Mountains, is now in this country; a man of primitive manners, who has exhibited in the various difficulties, labours, and privations, with which he has had to contend, a spirit of charity and devotion worthy of Apostolic times.

"Some idea may be formed of the overwhelming labour, connected with an infant diocese, in such a country as that of the Western Territory of the States, by the following fact, quoted by the Editors of the British Critic, for May 1822, from the Journal of the Convention:—

"'Bishop Chase travelled in the course of the year 1820, on horseback, which is the only way of visiting the infant settlements of that country, a distance of twelve hundred and seventy-one miles, and performed divine service and preached eighty-two times, besides attending the sick, the dying, and the afflicted.'

"Very justly do these writers add, in reference to such Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, that they

"—'have succeeded, not only to the office of the Apostles, but also to their labours and privations.'

"The principal passages quoted by the Editors, from the Bishop's Address, here follow:—

"'The map of Ohio will show you the extent of our charge. Our extreme parishes, as those of Cincinnati and Asatabula, are distant, each from the other, rising of three hundred miles. In other directions, their distance is not much less.'

"'On this vast surface, our settlements are thinly scat-

this description, that I have been most forcibly struck with the injurious consequences of the

tered,' and, among these settlements, are mingled the members of our primitive church. 'Having emigrated from places where the pleasant things of our Zion were freely and in abundance ministered, they remember their past enjoyments as hungry persons think on their former feasts of plenty. In this situation they sit, like the captive Israelites, by the muddy waters of the Euphrates' stream, waiting, with sighs and tears, for redemption to the church of God; for that blessed time, when the word and sacraments can, with any thing like constancy, be ministered among them.'

"'Besides innumerable individuals dispersed throughout our State, there are forty-eight places containing our LITTLE FLOCKS, mostly in circumstances similar to the above. These I have hitherto visited once a year. I have witnessed their joy at meeting, and their grief at parting. Their passionate inquiries, prompted by their love of Zion, and especially by the danger of the rising generations being enticed every day from her order and beauty, into the paths of sin and infidelity; their passionate inquiries for some prospects of relief, in the enjoyment of faithful missionaries, almost every where repeated, have sunk deep into my heart, and caused my tears to mingle with theirs.'

"'Our parishes and places of holding divine service, are mostly distant from each other, from fifteen to sixty miles; and the amount of parochial services is hardly so much as five clergymen to support them all. Though these are faithful, I fear, beyond their strength, yet, what are they among so many congregations, and at such distances? To keep, from ecclesiastical extinction, the little flocks already formed, they have, in many instances, encompassed so great a field of duty, that, before they have finished their circuit, their former labours are no more seen; their fences against error are thrown down, the weeds of sin are grown, and their

want of a legal provision for ministers of religion; but I believe the deficiency is also seriously felt in many of the old States.

The example of the United States has often been cited, both by the opponents and advocates of church establishments, in confirmation of their respective opinions. I think, however, that both parties are premature, and that many years must elapse before the result of the experiment can be ascertained. Indeed, so long as America participates freely in the advantages of the ecclesiastical establishment of Great Britain; so long as she has ready access to the writings of British Divines, and the valuable fund of

whole ground is laid waste. Too often have I witnessed this with mine own eyes; too often have I seen the lambs of the fold devoured, because a shepherd was too far distant to hear their cries. What must be my feelings under such circumstances, the beatings of your own bosoms, as you read this, can best express.'

" 'In doing the duty above alluded to, I have found the labours of a missionary inseparable from those of the Episcopate; and, to a person of my age, this assemblage of fatigue is more than can be borne. Incessant speaking in private, as well as in public, in teaching the rudiments of Christianity to the young, in explaining and defending the first principles of our religion to the ignorant opposer, have already much impaired my voice and my general health; and should this state of things continue, to all human view, my strength will soon be brought down, in my journey, and my days will be shortened."'

theological learning, which has been accumulating for centuries; so long as she can refer to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as a record of those fundamental doctrines in which most of her religious sects were once agreed, as a landmark by which to trace any deviation from their primitive faith, she can no more be adduced as conclusive evidence, that religious establishments are inexpedient, than the existence of Quakers, in the midst of other communities, can be appealed to as a satisfactory proof of the possibility of their existing as independent nations, without exercising the right of self-defence. I by no means, however, mean to deny, that the degree in which religion flourishes in America, without a legal provision for its support, furnishes *a presumption*, that establishments are not so necessary as some of their advocates contend.

Generally speaking, it has appeared to me, that the style of preaching in this country is more Calvinistic than in England, and that there is also less opposition to the peculiar doctrines of the gospel among men of the world. It is owing partly to this circumstance, that an attention to religion involves less of that mitigated persecution of modern days, which persons of piety must often encounter with us,

in the regrets or remonstrances of opposing friends, or the ridicule or distance of sneering companions. A religious profession might, therefore, be supposed to be more common; and, perhaps, may be so; a state of neutrality or indifference certainly is.

Whatever may be the actual state of religion in this country, I am quite satisfied that it is on the advance. There may be local exceptions; but my inquiries and observations in every part of my route have led me to a confident conclusion as to the general fact.* Many of the societies for

* In confirmation of this opinion, I am happy to adduce the respectable authority of the Rev. Wm. Ward, of Serampore, who, after a long residence in India, visited England and the Continent of Europe, and was travelling in America at the same time as myself. In a letter, dated London, April, 1821, (about two months later than the date of the preceding letter,) he observes, "' The number of religious institutions in America exceeds, if possible, those of England. Bible, Missionary, Tract, and Sunday-school societies, are very numerous. The American Bible Society is a noble institution, doing great good. The Orphan Asylum at New York has been favoured with such remarkable instances of the Divine care, as to remind one very strongly of the institution of Professor Frank, in Germany.

" But there are some institutions existing in America, which I have not heard of in other countries, At Boston, and in other places, a missionary for the town and neighbourhood is maintained and employed: his work is to carry the gospel to the poor; to preach in cellars, in garrets, and amongst those who, by their poverty, or their peculiar circumstances, or their

the promotion of religion, are of recent origin; but they are gradually diffusing themselves over

disinclination, are excluded from the public means of grace. I met two or three of these interesting missionaries. Societies of ladies exist for assisting poor Christian students, by purchasing cloth, and making them clothes. Other ladies are united to work together one day in a week, fortnight, or month, devoting the produce of their sewing, &c. to some good object. One of the party reads for the edification of the rest. Societies of girls, and separate ones for boys, are numerous: these have meetings, and devote a quarter, or a half, or a whole dollar a year each, to some Christian object. In the church under the care of the Rev. Mr. Payson, of Portland, a number of married females have associated, under a solemn engagement, that the survivors will, as much as possible, seek the spiritual good of the children, from whom any mother, in this association, may be removed by death.

"The different denominations in this country come together in delightful harmony, and co-operate without being obstructed by those impediments which exist in other countries. The Sunday-school Union, in New York, exhibits a noble specimen of the true Christian feeling; and the Union flourishes accordingly.

"In short, I found more places of worship in the large towns of America, than in similar towns in Britain; and much genuine piety among the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Evangelical Episcopalians, the Methodists, and the Baptists; and, as far as my journeying extended, I observed a cheering exhibition of Christian progress. As in England, all denominations of real Christians are increasing; and all are growing better. The revivals in different sections of the Union, are greater than ever. I have made special inquiry into the nature of these revivals, and find, that the far greater portion of those who commence a religious professsion

the Union, and the sympathy which was first kindled by commiseration for the Otaheitan or Hindoo, instead of being exhausted on distant objects, seems to derive fervour from its very expansion, and is now visiting the hut of the Aborigines, the log-cabin of the backwoods-man, and the habitation of the careless and uninstructed neighbour. In New Orleans, in March, 1815, there was not a Bible to be found, either to be sold, or gratuitously distributed; and the only Protestant place of worship was in an upper room belonging to an individual. Now, a Louisianian Bible Society is in regular operation, and the inhabitants have a handsome Episcopal and Presbyterian Church. The Sabbath is still dreadfully and generally profaned there; but it is religiously observed by many, the influence of whose example is daily extending. At the boarding-house where I

under these impressions, continue till death to adorn the doctrine of divine influence.—Christian missions, too, begin to be more and more popular, and the duty of the church to identify them as an integral part of its institutions, begins to be more generally felt and acknowledged in this highly-favoured country."

Duncan remarks, "No one of reflection and candour can fail to be convinced, that truth and righteousness, do, to a very important extent, prevail; and that those principles are in a state of increasing progress, and develope much."

lodged, were several naval and military, as well as mercantile gentlemen; and I remember an officer who had been drilling his rifle corps one Sunday, remarking on the strong representations which the Presbyterians had been making to him on the subject. He defended the practice by those arguments of expediency which have been worn threadbare by the commanders of our volunteer corps. A few years since, no remonstrance would have been hazarded; or if hazarded, the summary argument of a pistol, would probably have silenced the *interference.*

I will reserve, till we meet, all details respecting the comparative numbers of the different religious denominations, as well as with regard to the constitution and present condition of the American Episcopal church. As a member, and minister of the Church of England, I know you will rejoice sincerely to learn, that the Episcopal Church of America is flourishing and increasing, as there is every reason to believe, in numbers and in piety.* It is, however, with the

* "The preceding facts and statements will give our readers a tolerably accurate view of the present state of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the American Union. Her future prospects are flattering, and the labours of her exemplary clergy are unremitting. In most of the dioceses, (we

deepest regret, that I observe in the diocese of New York, no small portion of that intolerant and exclusive spirit which appears to identify Christianity with episcopacy, and to look with a cold or jealous eye on the diffusion of religious truth, and the advancement of religious principle, if not accompanied with the extension of the discipline, the authority, or the interests of a particular church. Attached, from conviction and principle, to the Church of England, it has been with shame and grief that I have heard the examples of some of her dignitaries occasionally adduced to justify a spirit so little accordant with her Catholic principles, and so much at variance, as it appears to me, with the spirit and principles of the gospel.

believe we might say in all) the clergy are *ex officio* missionaries, in addition to their stated pastoral duties. Sunday-schools are attached, we believe, to almost every church. Most, if not all, of the dioceses have likewise their separate missionary societies, as well as societies for the promotion of Christian knowledge, by distributing Bibles, prayer-books, homilies, tracts, &c. Besides these, there has been organized "A Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society" of the whole church, which is in correspondence with the Societies in London for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, and for promoting Christian knowledge; and also with the Church Missionary Society, which, in 1821, granted £200 sterling in aid of its important objects."—*British Review.*

If, indeed, the Church of England were not calumniated, by being cited in support of a sectarian and exclusive spirit; if she required from her adherents such a superstitious veneration for a particular form of church government as would suppress every generous sympathy with those of a different communion; if she could refuse to extend the right hand of fellowship and cordiality to all who are labouring to communicate by unexceptionable means, the light of Christian truth to those who are "sitting in darkness and the shadow of death,"—she would merit little indeed of that attachment and respect, with which I hope I shall never cease to regard her.

I am, happy, however, to say, that there are many Episcopalians in New York, of a more liberal spirit than that on which I have animadverted, and that the body of Episcopalians are distinguished by meritorious exertions, within the pale of their own church. *

* For many interesting particulars on this subject, I beg to refer to Duncan's Travels, which contain more valuable information respecting the United States than any work which I have seen. The reader will find in these Travels many important details, which, having no idea whatever of publishing, I omitted to collect, and many particulars which I have suppressed, on finding that Mr. Duncan had already laid them

before the public. I have not the pleasure of being acquainted with Mr. D.; but I am gratified by the opportunity of bearing testimony, as far as my opportunities of observation have enabled me, to the general accuracy of a work, which I trust will be extensively circulated.

Letter XL.

Salem, 24th February, 1821.

In my last I gave you, what I think you would consider an encouraging picture of the present state, and still more so of the future prospects of religion in this country. I did not, however, reply to your inquiries respecting Unitarianism, of the extension of which you appear to be already aware. From all I can learn, it appears that Unitarian opinions have been entertained in New England for fifty years at least, and perhaps much longer. Generally speaking, however, they were not very openly avowed, till much more recently; some of those who held them concealing their sentiments, because they were unpopular,—others, because they felt indifferent about them,—and others, more reflecting and philosophical, because they conceived that their extension would be most effectually promoted at that particular time by reserve and caution. The first Unitarian congregation, formed in America, was established in the King's Chapel soon after the Revolution.

This was the chapel in which the Governor worshipped; but becoming afterwards private property, and the majority changing their sentiments, they expunged from the church prayers all allusion to Trinitarian doctrines, and openly renounced the Trinity. The minority of course retired. In 1792, an Unitarian congregation was formed at Portland, in the district of Maine; and another at Saco, a small town, 20 miles further to the south. Both these congregations soon expired; but I found, when at Portland last Sunday, that another congregation was established there, and that the legislature of the newly-elected State of Maine, who were then sitting, were debating on a bill which would have a tendency, (if, indeed, it were not one of its immediate objects,) to favour the extension of Unitarian sentiments. The sermon of the minister of the Episcopal church, which I attended, was on the duty of contending for the "faith once delivered to the saints," and had a specific reference to this bill. As Unitarian sentiments became more general, they were gradually avowed with less reserve; yet the pulpits of many ministers, who were supposed to have imbibed them, gave no evidence of the fact, except that of *omissions*. This at length brought upon them the charge of insincerity from

their more orthodox brethren. The imputation was repelled with warmth; and the public were left in great doubt as to the precise sentiments of many of their pastors. Dr. Morse, who had been the most prominent of those who publicly manifested their regret at the defection of their brethren from the common faith, was accused of misrepresentation; and the most candid felt it almost impossible to arrive at the real state of things. At this time, Dr. Morse happened to meet with Mr. Belsham's Life of Lindesay, in which he found his own representations borne out by letters and documents, transmitted from Boston by the Unitarians themselves. These he strung together, in the form of a pamphlet, under the title of "American Unitarianism; or a brief History of the progress and present state of the Unitarian Churches in America; compiled from documents and information, communicated by the Rev. James Freeman, D. D. and William Wells, jun. Esq. of Boston, and from other Unitarian Gentlemen, in this country. By the Rev. T. Belsham, Essex-street, London. Extracted from, &c. &c." This pamphlet was eagerly read, and produced a great sensation. It disclosed the actual state of things, brought the question to issue, and ranged in opposite ranks those advocates of conflicting sentiments

who had hitherto been confusedly intermingled. A paper controversy has since been carried on, at intervals, as particular circumstances, or occasional excitement prompted; and both parties, as usual, claim the victory. In the mean time, however, Unitarianism has advanced; but although it is evident that it prevails to a considerable extent, Dr. Morse assured me that he did not believe it was gaining ground at present. If the number of its advocates seems to have augmented during the last year or two, he was disposed to ascribe the apparent increase rather to a more open avowal of their sentiments by many who were Unitarians before, than to a more general conviction of the truth of Unitarianism. Of the present numbers of the Unitarians, I can give you no idea. There are comparatively few, except in New England; and very few there, except in the towns on the coast. In Boston, I believe, there are seven or eight congregations of Unitarians, of different shades. In Baltimore, a splendid and costly Unitarian chapel was lately finished. In Philadelphia, there is a small Unitarian place of worship. In New York, a new Unitarian chapel, or what the orthodox consider as such, was opened, while I was there, by

Mr. Everett,* from Cambridge, (Massachusetts.) I was told it was numerously attended; but that it was generally rather frowned upon. As, however, those whom I heard mention it, were among its strongest opponents, I know not how far the latter statement might be correct. The chapel was opened on a week-day; and the minister was said not to dwell at all on doctrinal points. The following Sunday, I heard from ——, a powerful discourse, with reference to this new chapel, in which he spoke of the progress of infidelity, at different periods, in the United States. In the course of his sermon, he made some ill-timed allusions, which could not be mistaken, to the imputed scepticism of distinguished political characters; and there was an occasional asperity of language, which no difference of sentiment, even on those points, which we deem fundamental, can ever justify.

* Mr. Everett, well known in America and many parts of England, was, till lately, the Editor of the North American Review. This work, so creditable to the learning, talents, and spirit of its conductors, is acquiring, I am happy to find, an extensive circulation in England. Some of its papers, no doubt, possess only a local interest, but it embraces, in its plan, every topic connected with the welfare of the human race, and is distinguished, as far as I have seen, by a spirit of moderation, candour, and liberality. I hope the time is not far distant, when it will be found in our Book Societies and Reading Rooms as commonly as the Edinburgh and the Quarterly Reviews.

But Boston is the head-quarters of Unitarianism; and many of the Unitarians there are so amiable, and so intelligent,—possess so much practical kindness, and so many social virtues, as to exert a natural and powerful influence in favour of their opinions, and to shame many a narrow-minded, indolent professor of what we consider a purer faith;—a faith, which too many of us are apt to forget it is our duty to illustrate, as well as to maintain,—and to exhibit not merely as a dry system of restraint and prohibition, but as a source of the most generous incentives to excellence, in all that is "lovely, and of good report."

There are many things in the situation of the respectable classes of society in Boston, which are calculated to promote the extension of Unitarianism. In the first place, the strong traces which still remain of those habits of order and morality which their religious forefathers left as a rich inheritance to the population of New England,—habits intrinsically valuable, and entitling their possessors to esteem, but rather apt, perhaps, to lull asleep any suspicion of error in the creed with which they are found connected. 2ndly, A consciousness of literary superiority to the rest of the Union; an undue appreciation of *talent* in the estimate of character; and

an association (from which, as far as it is exclusive, I of course dissent) between liberality and Unitarianism—all strengthened, if not produced, by proximity to the most celebrated university in the United States, where the principal professors are Unitarians, and the system, though ostensibly neutral, is Unitarian also.—3dly, A state of worldly ease and comfort, in which the necessity of religious consolations is apt to be less strongly felt, and their foundation to be investigated with less trembling solicitude than under poverty and affliction.

Impressed as I am with a firm belief of the truth and importance of those doctrines which are denied by the Unitarians, I am gratified by the persuasion, that the tendency of the preceding circumstances will be fully counteracted by the fervent piety, the evident spiritual-mindedness, the obvious *interest* in religion, which characterize many who are opposed to Unitarian sentiments. In fact, so naturally does a high degree of religious sensibility appear to result from sound and deep views of religious truth, that opinions, which are seldom found in connection with devotional fervour, seem to want one very important credential of their correctness. Many of the orthodox to whom

I allude, are not only pious but learned, of irreproachable moral character, and acknowledged liberality, and distinguished by the activity and energy of their benevolent exertions. Among them are to be found the most strenuous supporters of Bible Societies, Missionary Societies, and Sunday-schools. Indeed, the American Missionary Society, you are aware, had its origin in this part of the country, where it still maintains its head-quarters, in the very focus of Unitarianism. All this is the more important, as New England is as the "Officina Gentium" of America, and while she is destined to supply much of the population of the New States, she will, of course, impress her own features strongly on their character,

With respect to the ministers,—Mr. Dwight among the Congregationalists, and Dr. Jarvis among the Episcopalians, occupy stations of peculiar importance, and seem likely to effect much. The former is the son of Dr. Dwight, the late eminent professor of Yale College, and is apparently of respectable talents and great activity. The latter is the son of Bishop Jarvis; and, I am disposed to believe, the most learned, and, as respects most of the duties of his responsible office, the most accomplished, Episcopal clergyman in America. He has a high standing

in society, possesses great personal respectability, and was appointed some months since to the new and handsome Episcopal church in the most fashionable part of Boston. Many of the most respectable inhabitants of Boston have joined his congregation—not a few from Unitarian societies.—Many families are divided in their religious sentiments; some of the members attending Episcopal, others, the Unitarian churches. Of the Unitarian Ministers, I believe Dr. Channing, who is much beloved and respected, stands at the head.

The most important feature in the history of the present state of Unitarianism in this country, is the strong hold it has obtained in Harvard college, near Boston; the most extensive, and, in a literary point of view, the most respectable college in the Union; in which also a large proportion of the younger members of the most opulent families in the different States, receive their education. Many parents are prevented, by religious considerations, from sending their children thither; but the objection has less influence than you would expect among those who are opposed to Unitarian sentiments. This, and perhaps Transylvania university at Lexington, are happily the only colleges under the influence of Unitarian senti-

ments. Yale College, Princeton, Columbia, and all the others that I am acquainted with, are opposed to them; but the noble Theological Institution at Andover, liberally endowed, formed for the express purpose of raising up able champions to contend earnestly for the faith at home, and accomplished and devoted missionaries to diffuse it abroad, blessed with learned and pious professors ardently engaged in their official duties, is likely to prove the strongest barrier to the progress of Unitarian sentiments.—In one delightful assurance however, all parties may happily concur—that truth, on whatever side it lies, will ultimately prevail, for this assurance is founded on the infallible promises of Him who has predicted its universal dissemination.—I am glad I have done. It is a painful office to remark on what appear to be the doctrinal errors of others, when conscious of so many practical errors, and of the probability, at least, of many doctrinal errors of our own. But I could not refuse your request; and I know that you cordially concur in the conviction, that no extent of apprehended error, however great on the one side, can justify a breach of charity, however small, on the other.

Letter XLI.

Salem, 26th February, 1821.

In my letter of the 24th, I had no room to advert to the state of morals and manners in the United States; and as these were among the topics on which you requested information, I avail myself of a little leisure to-night, to comply with your wishes. I must, however, remind you, that I do not pretend to give an accurate picture of American morals, (a task to which I feel myself incompetent, although I purposely deferred writing on the subject, till on the eve of embarking,) but merely to send you the observations of a solitary traveller —the impressions I have received in passing rather hastily over this extensive country.

If I were writing to a less judicious friend, I would also remind him, that I do not feel myself responsible for any general conclusions he may draw from particular facts, or bound to reconcile the discordant inferences he may deduce from my statements. I am answerable for the facts *only*; and if they sometimes leave you in an unsatisfactory state of suspense, from

which you are strongly tempted to relieve yourself by jumping to a conclusion, I can only assure you, that I am often in the same predicament, and would gladly relieve us both by some bouncing assertions, if I could do it with sincerity; but there have been *bounces* enough on the subject of America already.

The state of morals differs so much in different parts of America, that no general description would be applicable to the whole. Indeed, one might almost as well attempt to include in any general description, the various countries of Europe, as the United States of America; for although a uniform system of government produces many prominent features of a common character, in all the members of this great confederation, yet the wide range of climate, embraced within its extensive limits, the great variety of habits, objects, and feelings, and especially of political and religious sentiments, which prevailed among the first settlers of the different States; the diversified pursuits and occupations of the present inhabitants; the admission or proscription of slavery; and a thousand other circumstances, have contributed to establish the most marked distinctions, and often to present the most striking contrasts between the several sections of the Union. All

this must render any general account of American morals a little prolix and perplexed. I will rely, therefore, on your indulgence, and commence with what has long been considered a crying sin throughout the Union—intemperance.

The habitual use of ardent spirits is, indeed, very general. Even in the Eastern States it is not uncommon; but in the Middle, and still more, in the Southern States, it prevails to a lamentable extent. Under the denominations of *anti-fogmatics*, *mint julep*, and *gin sling*, copious libations are poured out on the altars of Bacchus, by votaries who often commence their sacrifices at an early hour in the morning, and renew them at intervals during the day; and yet I have not seen six instances of brutal intoxication since I landed in America,—nor, except among the poor corrupted frontier Indians, twenty cases in which I had reason to believe the faculties were in any degree disordered.* The decanters of brandy which are placed on the dinner tables at the inns, for the

* From what I have since heard from my servant and others, who had better opportunities of judging of this point than myself, I am disposed to think that the general inference which would be drawn from this statement, would be somewhat too favourable.

guests to help themselves, without additional charge, I have never seen used but with moderation; and, on the whole, I would say decidedly, that, taking America generally, from Maine to Louisiana, (you know that I have seen few of the Western States,) the sin of intoxication, prevails less extensively there, than in England—that, whatever may be the injury to the constitution, from the common use of spirits, instead of malt liquor, there is less derangement of the faculties, less waste of time, and perhaps of money; and far less misery entailed on suffering families from intemperate drinking, in this country, than in our own. There is, indeed, a far more dreadful squandering of time in bar-rooms, in many parts of America; but it is in cigar-smoking, and is not generally attended with pinching effects, on a deserted wife, or hungry children.

Drams are taken, as it were, "*en passant*," solitary, and in a parenthesis; not in a social circle, round a blazing fire, where I, in fancy, at this moment, see John Bull, sitting in an old arm chair, a three-legged deal table before him, his heart expanding as his bosom warms, one hand on the knee of his next neighbour, or patting him on the back, the other pushing round the common tankard, the bond of good fellowship,

which, after a few more circuits, will too probably convert this exhibition of rude enjoyment, into a melancholy scene of intoxication.

In the higher classes, there is great moderation in the pleasures of the table, in the Eastern and Middle States at least; and, as far as my experience goes, in the *highest* circles in the South. In Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, even large parties seldom dine later than three o'clock, (there are some exceptions,) and they usually disperse, after taking two or three glasses of wine. What may be the case at the parties of dissipated young men, or at public dinners, (whether there is a Madeira guage for republicanism, as we measure loyalty by Port,) I do not know. At an agricultural dinner, at which I was present, where there were, I believe, nearly 200 persons in the company, there was the greatest order and moderation; and all rose to return home in about an hour after dinner.

With regard to some other immoralities, if they exist in the same degree as with us, which I am disposed, from the prevalence of early marriages, to question, it is under the shade of secrecy; for the cities, except New Orleans, present nothing of the disgusting effrontery and unblushing profligacy, which the streets of

our large towns exhibit after dark; and in the country, as you may have observed in my letters, the female manners are distinguished by a very remarkable degree of propriety. Indeed, I hardly know any thing which has struck me more in America, than the respectable demeanour of the females of all ranks of life, and the evident attention in the domestic economy, even of taverns or inns, to exclude them from situations in which they might be exposed to insult. In New Orleans, indeed, the picture is almost totally reversed. It must not be forgotten, however, that New Orleans is still, in many respects, rather a French or Spanish, than an American city; and that it is improving just in proportion as it becomes American. The French inhabitants have still an ascendancy in the councils of the city; and the effect is no less conspicuous in the dirty streets and tainted air, than in its moral pollution. Before long, I trust, its streets will be cleansed by conduits from the Mississippi, for which it is admirably situated; and its moral atmosphere purified by the benign influence of true religion, which the Christians in the Eastern States, with their accustomed activity, are exerting themselves to extend.

Pilfering, house-breaking, highway robbery, and murder, are far less common here than with us; the last three, indeed, are very uncommon, although I have heard of the mail being robbed at least twice, since I have been here, and once (in the wild parts of the country, where it is carried on a horse,) with murder, and aggravated circumstances of cruelty. Duelling, except in the Eastern States, is more common, and far more barbarous and fatal.

The bribery of subordinate custom-house officers, so disgracefully common in England, (not, indeed, to defraud the revenue, but to obtain despatch,) is very rare here. I have been informed, by active respectable merchants in New York and Philadelphia, that they never knew an instance, and should be extremely surprised to hear of one; that in the only case in which they had known of a bribe being offered, the officer considered himself insulted, and knocked the offender down. In Boston, I omitted to inquire on this subject; but in any point of morals, there is every reason to infer, that it stands at least as high as New York and Philadelphia.

To what extent smuggling, slave-trading, and privateering, under Spanish colours, are carried on, I found it difficult to learn; since

these practices, though by no means uncommon, are considered as disreputable as with us, and shun the light. The instances of breaches of trust, in responsible situations, (especially in banks,) of which I have heard in the last twelve months, are disgracefully numerous. This, I attribute principally to the wretched system of the insolvent laws in this country, and the laxity of morals in pecuniary matters, which they are calculated to produce. For the particulars of this system, so repugnant to the general intelligence and morality of the country, I refer you to your commercial friends. It is a perfect anomaly, and cannot long exist. Indeed, the Bankrupt Bill has already passed the Senate; and although other business may interrupt its progress through the House of Representatives, it must, in some form or another, ere long, become a law, and supersede a system, over which, were I an American, I should never cease to mourn, deprecating it as calculated most seriously to injure the reputation of my country, and fatally to depress her moral tone.

Such a thing as an equal division of the assets of the estate of an insolvent among his creditors, I have never known, nor heard of; while in the majority of instances of insolvency, which have

fallen under my observation, the insolvent has assumed and exercised the power of paying some creditors in full, and leaving others without a single farthing. An extensive merchant, of high standing in the community, who had been unfortunate, showed me a list which he had made out of his creditors, of whom a certain number were to be paid in full, and the remainder to take their chance. (Some of the latter, I know, have never received a shilling.) On my remonstrating with him on the iniquity of such a system, he said, that abstractedly, perhaps, it could not be defended; but that he should not be considered a fair trader, and certainly could not expect any support from his countrymen, if he pursued any other; that when the Americans lent each other money, or endorsed each other's notes, there was often a secret understanding, that the lender should, by some means or other, be secured from loss, in case of accident to the borrower. He attempted to draw some subtle distinctions between one kind of debt and another; but I observed the practical distinction was between those who were likely to be serviceable to him in future, and those who were not, whether Americans or foreigners. British merchants who were in the habit of consigning goods to America,

were to be paid in full. British merchants, on the other hand, who had lent him money for years, by honouring his drafts, were to be left to their fate. Some of these, who were large creditors, have been ultimately excluded from all participation in the estate, although the debt was acknowledged, and the property to be divided very extensive.

The frauds and subterfuges, in cases of insolvency, exceed any thing I could have conceived; and as long as America continues this system, she must not be surprised to find her deficiencies blazoned forth, and exaggerated by foreigners, who have, probably, known her only in her commercial character. But it is not foreigners alone who would agree in the correctness of these representations. The preceding remarks have been assented to, whenever I have made them in their presence, by the most respectable merchants on all the principal Exchanges in America;* and the

* The following extract from the New York Statesman, will put the correctness of my representations on this subject beyond dispute:—

"*Washington, December* 13, 1823.

"MEMORIAL OF THE NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

"Without a general bankrupt law, all the creditors of a merchant who fails, have not an equal chance of receiving a dividend of his estate. When a

American writer, Verplank, by no means deficient in devoted attachment to his country, makes the following observations, in a very eloquent and learned discourse, before the Historical Society of New York, in 1818. Alluding to the unconquerable spirit of the Dutch, whose peculiar manners and customs, he thinks, have been described with a broad and clumsy exaggeration "by the proud and melancholy Islanders," (the British,) he adds, "during the same period, Holland had served the cause of freedom and reason, in another and much more effectual manner, by breaking down the old aristocratic contempt for the mercantile character; and her merchants, while they amazed the world by an exhibition of the wonderful effects of capital and credit, directed by sagacity and enterprise, and operating on a vaster scale than had ever before been seen, shamed the poor prejudices of their age

merchant's affairs become embarrassed in any of our commercial cities, (the practice is so uniform that it has become a perfect system) he assigns all his property in the the first place to pay his confidential friends, who have lent their names and their money, and thus given him a false credit which has been the means of imposing on others; or he has already assigned, as security for usurious loans from some of the harpies which infest all our cities, every thing which he has of any value, and his honest creditors get nothing. The truth of this has been felt, and will be acknowledged by almost every commercial man in the United States."

out of countenance, by a high-minded and punctilious honesty, before which, the more lax commercial morality of their degenerate descendants in this country should stand rebuked."

Having stated these particulars, which candour would not allow me to suppress, it is peculiarly gratifying to me to add, that I have the pleasure of being acquainted, in all the commercial cities, with merchants, distinguished by as strict a regard to integrity, as high a sense of honour, as any I know in England, and in whose principles I should be equally ready to place unlimited confidence. They, I trust, will redeem the character of their country, and never rest till they have effected such alterations in its commercial code, as may tend to render the body of their countrymen as honourable as themselves.

Lotteries and horse-racing are not uncommon here: the latter is most prevalent in the southern States, where private race-courses are frequent. Gambling, in the middle States, I should imagine, from all I saw, is about as common as in England: it is far more so as you proceed to the southward, and dreadfully prevalent in New Orleans, where a license to authorise gambling-houses is sold either by the city or the state authorities, I forgot to inquire which; though

in the one case it would throw the blame on the French, in the other, on the Americans. The licenser is reported to realize a large income from this iniquitous traffic; and the Kentucky boats, which, for above a mile, line the shores of the Mississippi, are said, on Sundays, to form a line of gambling-shops. These, with the open theatres, and the week-day work, which is going on at the wharfs, to, perhaps, one-third of its ordinary extent, present a Sunday-evening prospect you would be grieved to witness.

Indelicate and profane language is less common in the Eastern States than with us, perhaps equally prevalent in the Middle, and far more so in the southern Atlantic States; but it prevails to an awful degree on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. These, indeed, are emphatically, in a moral sense, the benighted regions of America; and yet their natural aspect is bright and beautiful. Often, when at New Orleans, walking out at sunrise, on the banks of the Mississippi, which, a few hours before, had been parched and cracked by yesterday's meridian fervour, but were then saturated with the heavy dews which, at that season, fell nightly like "showers on the mown grass," I have thought that I had never before seen so much to delight the eye, regale the senses, or kindle the imagin-

ation;—orange groves, with their golden fruit and fresh green leaves; hundreds of cattle half hid in the deep wet clover, which grows wild and luxuriant on the rich alluvion; the sugar and cotton plantations on the opposite bank, and the forest behind them, stretching to the boundless prairies of the Attacapas and Opelousas; above all, the noble Mississippi flowing majestically to the sea, and carrying the imagination thousands of miles up its current, to its distant source. I have before alluded to the beauties of the close of day, in a climate so delicious, at that hour, and the succeeding ones, when the vault of heaven has a deeper blue than with us.

> "Where milder moons dispense serener light,
> "And brighter beauties decorate the night."

And yet, when I think of the moral pollution which pervades New Orleans, and the yellow fever which annually depopulates it, or of the intermittents and slavery which infest its vicinities, the rocky shores of New England have a thousand times more charms for me. There, I see, on every side, a hardy, robust, industrious enterprising population; better fed, better clothed, better educated, than I ever saw before, and more intelligent, and at least as moral as

the corresponding classes even of our own countrymen. There, instead of a succession of slave-plantations, which, by furnishing their own supplies, or deriving them in large quantities from a distance, prevent that interchange which gives rise to numerous villages and towns, I find myself surrounded by handsome thriving country towns; and I have already told you how extremely beautiful a New England town is, with its white frame-houses and Venetian blinds, its little courts, its planted squares, its fine wide streets, or rather avenues, and especially its numerous spires. From one spot, I have counted more than 25 spires; and yet I have been asked, in England, if there were any churches, or places of worship, in America.

Letter XLII.

Hartford, Connecticut, 1st March, 1821.

On the 23d, I left Newburyport for Salem, 25 miles distant, where we arrived at noon. The surface of the ground was generally well cultivated; but I often observed immense rocks, in the fields, evincing that the country immediately on the coast was more indebted to man than to nature for any appearance of fertility it might exhibit. Indeed, I think a great part of the road between Newburyport and Boston presents a more rocky region than I ever before saw in a state of cultivation; but every thing seems to yield to the proverbial perseverance of New England. I have seen a New Englander clearing what appeared to me a barren rock, for the sake of the narrow strips of soil in the crevices; and I could not help thinking, with what a smile of contempt a Mississippi or Alabama planter would recall such a scene to his recollection, while standing with folded arms over his slaves as they hoed his rich alluvion. But both his contempt and pity would

be sadly misplaced. The loose gray stone walls, instead of the zigzag rail fences so common throughout the United States, south of Rhode Island or New York, and the spreading trees standing singly in the fields, (for, except on the roadside, we have long been accustomed to see them either grouped, as in our plantations, with no power to expand, or losing their individual character in the depth of forests)—recalled my thoughts to Yorkshire or Derbyshire. Before we reached Salem, we passed through Ipswich, venerable in this country for its age; for it was settled in 1632, twelve years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.

From Salem I rode to Marblehead, to see some old friends. They gave me a warm reception, and their welcome had in it much of Scotch cordiality. I think that it is Sterne, who says he pities the man who can travel from Dan to Beersheba, and say it is all barren. I much pity his ill fortune, who can travel from Maine to Georgia, and say the Americans, men and women, have no hearts. He will, indeed, in taverns and bar-rooms meet with many whose manners are calculated to give him that impression; but a little acquaintance with American society must show him that it is an erroneous one. Indeed, I deliberately think that a cursory

traveller must be struck with the evidence of more good nature, and a greater spirit of accommodation in the stages here, than with us, and certainly of more uniform and marked respect to female travellers, though often under the most cold and forbidding manners. *This* I was not prepared to expect; and often, in making these favourable representations, I have to cross-examine myself, and ask, "Are these things really so?" Sometimes, where the case is doubtful, I bring my opinions to a severer test. I wait till the next time that I find myself in circumstances not particularly calculated to excite good humour; and if, when sitting in a bar-room, while they are lighting a fire in my chamber, (and I never sit there longer, though it is often the only sitting-room,) enveloped in cigar-smoke, and watching my companions pour down their throats the liquid flame that is to consume their vitals; if, when received on sufferance by a frigid landlord, who seems afraid to degrade himself by being civil, (a case which *has* happened, though you will have seen from my letters, not very frequently;*) or if,

* "Much has been said by former travellers of the familiarity and rudeness of the American people. I will not attempt to contradict their assertions, but for myself I must

when more than usually annoyed, (for it is a daily and grievous annoyance,) by the very

declare, in justice to the American character, that I experienced the utmost civility, and even politeness, from the inhabitants in every part of the country through which I travelled. The coachmen were civil, and the tavern-keepers attentive; wherever I had occasion to mix with the country people, I never met with the least rudeness or shadow of impertinence on any occasion; on the contrary, they were civil and obliging."—

"At the taverns and farm-houses, where we rested on the road, we found the people extremely civil and attentive. We were treated with as much respect as if we had been at our own houses; and the landlord, his wife, and daughters, waited on us in the most obliging manner. I do not mention this as a solitary instance, it was general at every house where we stopped; neither have I drawn my conclusions merely from the reception I met with at taverns, and other places of public resort, but from my observations upon the people in general, with whom I had frequent opportunities of mixing, whether they belonged to the highest or the lowest orders of the community."—*Lambert's Travels.*

"I have travelled near 10,000 miles in the United States, and I never met with the least incivility or affront. I feel myself bound by gratitude and a regard to truth, to speak of their hospitality."—*Bradbury.*

"In our journey from Baltimore to Illinois, if we asked the road, we received the best information in the power of the person, of whom we inquired, to give us. The custom-house officers behaved with great civility; the tavern-keepers were very civil, but not so polite as in England; in short, we met with as good treatment as we should in a tour through England; but the manners of the Americans are more rough than those of Englishmen."—*Woods*, 1822.

general and most disgusting habit of spitting, without regard to time, place, or circumstance;

"We were very well and very civilly treated in one of them, (one of the taverns at Rochester,) but, indeed, I have never yet met with any incivility, though, occasionally, with that sort of indifference, which foreigners, accustomed to the obsequiousness of European service, sometimes mistake for it."—*Frances Wright.*

"Much that has been written on the incivilities to which a stranger is exposed here, is destitute of truth. Generally speaking, a traveller will meet with respectful treatment, if his own manners are not rude. The imperative tone which empty-pated coxcombs are prone to assume at home, would be resented here most indignantly; but if you *request*, instead of *ordering*, you will rarely receive an uncivil reply. The country innkeeper is not unfrequently a man of some consequence in the neighbourhood, either from his property, or from holding some official situation, and if you enter into conversation with him, you will often discover, that under a plain exterior is concealed a great deal of shrewdness and information. Sometimes, the landlord's daughter pours out tea or coffee at a side-table; but she always maintains a dignified deportment, and is respectfully treated by her guests. The females of every class whom I have seen employed in American inns, have been in all cases perfectly correct in their manners, nor did I ever see any rudeness offered to them. In waiters, stage-drivers, and the other retainers of the road, you will find little of the obsequiousness which is common at home; they generally, indeed, speak to you more on the footing of equality than inferiority; I have once or twice had uncivil answers, but not more frequently, I think, than at home."—*Duncan's Travels.*

"The usual reception the traveller finds at the inns, is that of cold civility; but the landlord and the waiter, though not obsequious, are generally sufficiently attentive.—I suspect

if at such times I find my faith in my favourable sentiments unshaken, I feel convinced of their correctness, and place them, as Mr. Cecil placed his tried characters, upon the shelf. But if fresh circumstances should arise to excite a suspicion that, after all, my impressions are erroneous, I wait till provoked by malicious misrepresentations of the state of things in my own country, or by ill-natured remarks on acknowledged defects in her institutions; and if I still feel bound by sincerity and candour to make my former admissions, I seldom suffer myself again to call them in question.

With respect to America, indeed, as well as every other country, there are two sides of the picture, but unhappily many of our travellers have seen, or at least exhibited only one, and

that those travellers who have complained of the rudeness of the Americans, must have demeaned themselves in an arrogant, or otherwise unpleasant manner; for the instances of rudeness that I met with were so rare, and those of civility so general, that the former must, in all fairness, be regarded as exceptions to the general rule.—Civility may certainly be a constituent in the behaviour of one who knows not how to be polite; but when civility is shown by little acts of kindness, which are prompted by a desire to please, and is united to suavity, it would be unjust to deny that it is entitled to be called politeness. This is the description of American politeness which is most generally visible."—*A Summary View of America, by an Englishman.*

that too often the most unfavourable side. I have met with no travels in America which do not contain much that is true, but many, which in consequence of important omissions, produce an impression which is entirely false. That I have escaped the rocks on which other travellers have split, I have not the presumption even to hope. I am well aware, that my impressions must often have been modified by accident or prejudice; but, such as they are, I have communicated them to you without reserve. You will have perceived, that they are of a mixed character, and from the preceding letters, materials may, no doubt, be drawn in support of their opposite statements, both by the calumniators and the panegyrists of the United States.

It has not been without sincere regret, that I have observed the erroneous opinions which prevail in England, with respect to America. With a decided preference to the manners and institutions, and form of government of my own country, (a preference only confirmed by opportunities of comparison,) it has been impossible not to perceive, that the ideas above alluded to, are in many respects, as unjust to the United States, as they are discreditable to Great Britain. To what cause we are to attribute the

ignorance and prejudice of my enlightened and generous country, on almost every topic connected with America, I will not stop to inquire. The subject is a very interesting one, but it would lead to a discussion too long for a letter.*

I should, however, do great injustice to my own feelings, if I did not assure you, that, in the course of a journey of nearly 8000 miles, in which I passed through the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana,

* I am happy in the persuasion that juster ideas of America, and a better tone of feeling towards her begin to prevail, and I believe that I am violating no principle, either of candour or charity, in expressing my warm indignation at the attempts which are sometimes made on both sides of the water, to foster sentiments of animosity between two countries, which are urged by the most powerful considerations of natural connection and political advantage, to cherish the most intimate relations which can subsist between independent states. They will have much to answer for, who commit a crime of so deep a dye, who indulge their malignity under whatever pretext, and with whatever views, at such a dreadful expense of possible consequences. I have heard an intelligent American observe, "Had Mr. Wilberforce, or any other citizen of the world, who would have given a fair account of us, visited this country before the late war, that war would infallibly have been prevented."

Mississippi, and Tennessee, and mixed extensively with society, I received impressions of America and its inhabitants, very different from those which prevail among a large portion of my countrymen, or which are to be derived from some of our books of Travels or Reviews.

I would, however, appeal to the candour of my countrymen, whether, if those representations were true, which, in many cases, are most erroneous, the tone and temper with which the subject of America is sometimes discussed among us, are either courteous or liberal—whether they are calculated to elicit or to obscure the truth, to extinguish or to inflame animosity—whether they are becoming the dignity of a great, or the magnanimity of a generous nation—whether they are consistent with Christian principles—and whether they are calculated, in their result, to confirm or to invalidate that combination of the benevolent efforts of the two countries, so favourable to the best interests of the human race?

Marblehead, the second town in the commonwealth before the revolution, is now comparatively "the top of a rock, a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea." It is from this place principally, that the Newfoundland fishery is carried on. The trade, however,

has latterly been very unproductive; and I saw the fishing craft, which was now drawn on shore, very generally advertised for sale or charter.

On the 27th, I dined with an old friend at Salem. Our conversation turned a good deal on the remaining traces of the primitive manners of the Pilgrim Fathers. One of these I found, was the substitution of a thanksgiving day in November, instead of Christmas-day, and the renunciation of so *heretic* a dish as mince-pies, as connected with that day, and associated with ecclesiastic institutions which the Puritans held in abhorrence. Christmas-day, however, is now observed more and more generally every year, and mince-pies we find in every tavern. Another Puritanic custom (which I was informed, still lingers in Boston also,) is the commencement of the Christian Sabbath on Saturday evening, and its termination on Sunday evening, at five or six o'clock, ("the evening and the morning were the first day.") My friend told me, that in a very strict family in Connecticut in which he was brought up, (a clergyman's family,) Saturday evening was observed with the greatest strictness and rigidity, and Sunday also till after tea, when the orthodox lady invariably brought out her knitting.

We reached Boston at 10 o'clock at night, and lay on two chairs at the stage-house till two, when we set off for Northampton, 100 miles distant, where we arrived at 10 o'clock in the evening, after passing through Worcester and Leicester. The following day we set out for Hartford. The part of the valley of Connecticut through which we passed, is generally admitted to be one of the finest portions of the cultivated regions of America, and the panoramic views from some of the eminences, will, I hope, be one day rendered more familiar to British imaginations, either by the pencil or the pen. Of the beauty of the valley, I cannot convey to you a more lively impression than by telling you that it reminded me forcibly of Lonsdale, with all its features expanded in due proportion; its length being nearly 400 miles, and its breadth varying from 5 to 45 miles. With the exception of Lonsdale, it is by far the most beautiful valley I have ever seen. We rode a great part of the day on the very brink of the river, which appeared to be from a third to half a mile broad, and the banks of which, exhibit some of the finest specimens of what are termed intervals,* that are to be

* "This word, in its appropriate meaning, denotes lands, formed by a long-continued and gradual alluvion of a

found in America. Intervals are synonimous with flats or river bottoms; the Americans having restored the word to its original application to space instead of time.* The ground was covered with snow; but the day was bright, and every twig was enclosed in a sparkling icicle. On this day's route we saw some of the finest American elms we have observed in the country. They are very dif-

river. Such lands are universally formed by rivers, conveying slime, wherever sufficient space is furnished for their reception; and where falls, straights, points of land, or any other causes, check the current. On the contrary, wherever the current is uniform, the water at all times pure, or the banks high, sufficiently near to each other, and sufficiently firm merely to yield a passage for the stream, intervals are not, and cannot be formed."—*Dwight's Travels.*

* "It has been remarked by several writers, that the Latin word *intervallum*, was evidently borrowed from the appropriate phraseology of a camp; *inter vallos spatium*,—the space between the stakes or palisades, which strengthened the rampart. None of them, however, has taken any notice of the insensible transitions by which it came successively to be employed in a more enlarged sense; first, to express a limited portion of longitudinal extension in general; and afterwards limited portions of time as well as of space. "Ut "quoniam intervallo locorum disjuncti sumus, per literas "tecum quam sæpissime colloquar." The same word has passed into our language; and it is not a little remarkable, that it is now so exclusively appropriated to time, that to speak of the interval between two places, would be censured as a mode of expression not agreeable to common use."—*Dugald Stewart.*

ferent from ours, far more lofty and expanded; and every branch is like a separate tree. I think I almost give them the preference over either the live oaks or magnolias of the Carolinas, or the tulip trees or sycamores of the western country. The timber on the Atlantic coast, with the exception of the pine, does not generally exceed ours in size; at which I was much disappointed at our first arrival; but as you proceed westward, it improves in magnitude, till it reaches the stupendous size of those tulip or sycamore trees, at the sight of which we have often stopped our horses almost instinctively, and sat lost in astonishment. The younger Michaux, member of the society of natural history of Paris, who visited America, in 1802, under the auspices of Chaptal, Minister of the Interior, mentions a plane tree in the State of Ohio, which measured 47 feet in circumference. He also mentions as a striking fact, that he had observed in the United States, a hundred and thirty seven trees, which rise above the height of thirty feet, whereof ninety-five are employed in the arts; but that France, on the contrary, which might be considered a pretty fair representation of the same range of temperature, produced no more than thirty-seven trees of that size; and that of these, only *seven*

were employed in civil or marine architecture. His description of the large plane tree, is as follows:—"Thirty-six miles before reaching Marietta, we stopped with a person who lives on the right bank; at about fifty paces from his house he showed us a plane tree, *Platanus occidentalis*, of which the trunk was swelled to a prodigious size, at a height of two feet; we measured it four feet above the surface of the ground, and found it to be forty-seven feet in circumference. It appeared to keep the same dimensions at the height of fifteen or twenty feet; then it divided into several branches of a proportional thickness. No external appearance led to a belief that the tree was hollow; and, I examined this as much as I could by striking it with a large stick in several places. Our host offered, if we would pass the day with him, to show us others as large, in different parts of the wood, two or three miles from the river. This fact supports an observation made by my father, when he travelled in this country, tending to prove that the tulip and plane trees, of all the trees of North America, are those which attain to the greatest diameter." The elder Michaux observes, "Fifteen miles above the river Muskingum, on a small island of the Ohio, is a plane tree, *Platanus occidentalis*, the circumference of

which, at five feet from the earth, where the stem is uniform, is 40 feet 4 inches, which is about 13 feet in diameter. Twenty years before my journey, General Washington had measured the same tree, and found it nearly of the same dimensions. I have also measured plane trees, in Kentucky, but never found them exceed 15 or 16 feet in circumference. This tree grows in humid places. Next to the plane, the largest tree of North America is the tulip tree, *Liriodendron tulipifera*, called by the Americans of the western country, poplar. Its circumference is sometimes 15, 16, and even 18 feet."*

* Catesby, in his History of North Carolina, states, that there are some trees of this description, *(Liriodendron tulipifera,)* in America, which are thirty feet in circumference, and Mr. Marshall describes them as 70 or 80 feet high.—*Miller's Dictionary, arranged by T. Martyn, B. D. F. R. S. Regius Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge.*

I have heard of several instances of the tulip tree attaining the height of 100 feet.

"Mr. Bartram mentions some gigantic black oaks, in North America, many of which measured 8, 9, 10 and 11 feet in diameter, (or 25 to 34 feet in circumference,) five feet above the ground, ascending perfectly straight, with a gradual taper, 40 or 50 feet to the limbs."—*Martyn's Dictionary.*

Dr. Dwight mentions a white or Weymouth pine (*Pinus Strobus,)* of an enormous height, near Meredith, in the State of New York. "The hill which limits the northern prospect, is covered with a magnificent growth of white pines, one of

How often have I wished for you in the autumn, to show you an American forest, in its coat of many colours! I do not exactly know the reason (it is stated to be the early

which having fallen down, was measured by Mr. Law, and was found to be 247 feet in length."—*Dwight's Travels.*

This approaches nearer than any tree I have heard of, to the height of the Norfolk Island Pine. *(Araucaria Excelsa.)*

A highly respectable botanist informed me, that he had met with two gentlemen, who had, at different times, measured trees of this description in Norfolk Island. The longest measured by the one was 270, and by the other 275 feet; but both persons expressed their conviction, that they had seen these trees in the wood 300 feet high.

The Bombax, I believe, does not reach this height, although it attains a great size, in both the East and West Indies. In Columbus's first voyage, it is stated, that a canoe was seen in the island of Cuba, formed of one of these trees, which would contain 150 men.

"The account which Monsieur Adanson gives of the trees he saw at Senegal and other parts of Africa, *(the Adansonia)* in regard to the size of them, is amazing; he measured several from 65 to 78 feet in circumference, but their height was not extraordinary. The trunks were from 12 to 15 feet high, before they divided into many horizontal branches which touched the ground at their extremities. These were from 45 to 55 feet long, and were so large, that each branch was equal to a monstrous tree.—*Martyn's Dictionary.*

The following particulars will shew that our own island has produced many trees, nearly as large in girth as those whose size is considered as very remarkable, even in North America. The American trees, however, are far more stately, though less picturesque, than the trees in Great Britain, and from the peculiar freedom of their bark from moss or impurity, they have a particularly healthy and vigorous appearance.

occurrence of frost;) but the foliage here seems to assume its variegated autumnal appearance before the leaves begin to fall, and the beautiful tints and mellow hues, far

Mr. Marsham mentions a witch elm, by Bradley church, in Suffolk, which, in 1754, at five feet high, measured 25 feet 5½ inches round, and in 1767, 26 feet 3 inches.

Mr. Cook mentions a witch elm felled in Sir Walter Bagot's park, in Staffordshire, which lay 40 yards in length, and was at the stool, 17 feet in diameter, (or more than 51 feet in circumference.) The whole was estimated at 97 tons.

In the St. James's Chronicle, No. 5038, it is said, that an oak tree, felled a few days before, at Morley, in Cheshire, produced upwards of 1000 measurable feet of timber. Its girt was 14 yards, or more than 42 feet. Its existence can be traced back for 800 years.

In Holt forest, in Hampshire, near Bentley, not far from Farnham, in Surrey, an oak, in 1759, girted 34 feet, at 7 feet from the ground.

An oak, at Cawthorpe, near Wetherby, in Yorkshire, within three feet of the surface, measured 16 yards, or more than 45 feet in girt, and close to the ground, 26 yards, or more than 78 feet. Its height in 1776, was 85 feet. Mr. Marsham says, that in 1768, at four feet, it girted 46 feet 6 inches, and at six feet, 32 feet 1 inch.

Of the Boddington oak, between Cheltenham and Tewkesbury, Mr. Marshall says, at three feet, it measured 42 feet, and at its smallest dimensions, namely, from five to six feet high, it is 36 feet.

In Torwood, in the county of Stirling, stand the ruins of an oak supposed to be the largest tree that ever grew in Scotland. It is now hollow, but from remains, it is evident, that the *diameter* of the trunk could not be less than 11 or 12 feet, (or the circumference above 30 feet.)

These very old oaks, (800 to 1000 years old,) have generally

deeper and more diversified than ours, often blended harmoniously on the same tree, or contrasted with the deepest green of a kindred branch, appear too healthy and vigorous to be precursors of dissolution, or symptoms of decay. The bright yellow of the walnut, the scarlet of the maple, the fresh green of the

short stems, at 6, 8, 10, or 12 feet high, throwing out large horizontal arms. The oak, however, will acquire a great length of stem, but then it rarely swells to any considerable girt.

Mr. Marsham, indeed, mentions one in the Earl of Powis's park, near Ludlow, which in 1757, measured at five feet high, 16 feet 3 inches, and which, ran quite straight and clear of arms, near or full 60 feet.

At Betchworth Castle, in Surrey, there are not fewer than 70 or 80 chesnut trees measuring from 12 to 18, or 20 feet in girt.

At Wimley, near Hitchin Priory, in Hertfordshire, a chesnut, in 1789, girted somewhat more than 14 yards, or upwards of 42 feet, at five feet above the ground.

The most remarkable of these trees in England, is that at Tortworth, the seat of Lord Ducie, in Gloucestershire; even in the year 1150, says Bradley, it was styled the great or old chesnut tree of Tortworth. It forms the boundary of the manor, and is probably 1000 years old, at least. It girted 50 feet, at six feet above the ground, about the year 1720. It divided at the crown into three limbs, one of which then measured 28½ feet in girt, five feet above the crown.

The famous Castagno de Cento Cavalli, on Mount Etna, as measured by Mr. Brydone, in 1770, is 204 feet in circumference. Some, however, have doubted if this be really one tree. Brydone says, it had the appearance of five distinct trees, but he was assured the space was once filled with solid timber, and that there was no bark in the inside.

laurel, and the sombre brown of the cedar, are often the most prominent colours; but these are mingled with a variety of others more soft and delicate, which melt imperceptibly into each other, and throw a rich and luxuriant beauty over the gorgeous forest.

With respect to the silence of the American woods, from the absence of feathered warblers, I must beg leave to dissent, in some degree, from the opinions I have often heard expressed. In the northern States, the groves are certainly less musical than in Great Britain; but in the southern forests, I have often stopped my horse at day-break and sunset, to listen to strains, at least as enchanting as I have ever heard in my native island; and these have sometimes been continued for hours together as we rode along. Recollecting at the time the general opinion on this subject, I have several times ascertained the impressions of my English servant, who was brought up in the country, and I found that his sentiments corresponded entirely with my own. I have not the opportunity of referring to Wilson's excellent work, on the Ornithology of the United States; but I have a strong impression, that he makes a similar remark.

I have already said so much of the extreme clearness and transparency of the atmosphere

in this country, that I dare scarcely allude to it again to tell you how much it adds to the beauty of the natural scenery. Indeed, a common landscape is often rendered beautiful by the extreme distinctness with which every outline is defined, or the vivid colouring with which, at sunset, the air itself seems suffused. Compared with an English atmosphere, in its effect on scenery, it always reminded me of the difference between plate and common glass. I do not know whether the purity of the atmosphere does not add still more to the beauty of a moonlight scene. A winter moonlight night in America, when the ground is covered with snow, is really like enchantment.

I am not, however, enamoured of the climate;* or at least, I have deliberately decided in favour

* The following remarks from Volney, on the climate of North America, are so interesting that I will not apologize for the length of the extract:—

"If we compare the United States with the countries of the eastern hemisphere, under parallel latitudes, we shall find that the southern districts of the former, Georgia and the Carolinas, correspond with the kingdom of Morocco, and the whole northern coast of Africa.—The same lines traverse Syria, the central provinces of Persia, Thibet, and the heart of China; and nearly the same parallel strikes Savannah, Tripoli, Alexandria, Gaza, Bosra, Ispahan, Lahor, and Nankin. The northern States, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, correspond with southern France, middle Italy, European Turkey, the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and the plains of Tartary.

of our own,—the vicissitudes here being very sudden, and the extremes formidable; but there are (and very frequently,) days so beautiful, that I feel as if I would pay almost any

The same line very nearly touches Boston, Barcelona, Ajaccio, Rome, Constantinople, and Derbend. Such extensive limits indicate a great variety of climate, and, in truth, the United States displays all the extremes of the countries just enumerated.—

"Yet, it is not strictly true, that the temperature of a country is necessarily regulated by the latitude. On the contrary, it seems to be modified by, and sometimes wholly to depend upon, various circumstances of the surface.—In the northern parts of New England, between 42° and 43°, by observations made at Salem, near Boston, during seven years, by Mr. Edward Holyoke, and compared with 20 years of observation made at Manheim, it appears, that the temperature of Salem is higher in summer, and lower in winter than that of many cities of Europe. The difference will appear in the following table:—

	LAT.	LOWEST.	HIGHEST.	VAR.
Rome	41° 53′	32	86	54
Marseilles	43° 17′	23	88¼	65¼
Padua	45° 22′	9½	97¼	87¾
Salem	42° 35′	12 below 0	102¾	114¾

"We may observe, in this table, the difference throughout the year is 114¾ degrees, while this difference at Rome is only 54 degrees, at Marseilles 65, and at Padua 87.

"Generally, in Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, countries situated between 22° and 45°, parallels corresponding with the south of France, and the north of Spain, the earth is covered every winter, with snow for three or four months, so as to make the use of sleds and sleighs universal. The thermometer, generally, in winter, between

price for the enjoyment they bring. When at Montreal, in August, we had the thermometer one day at 99°, and in Boston, in September, at five o'clock in the evening, at 93 or 94°; it having

32 and 10 degrees, sometimes descends so low as 5, 1, and even 8 below 0. Mr. Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire, has observed it, at Portsmouth, north of Salem, at 18 degrees below 0; and S. Williams, the historian of Vermont, at 26 degrees below 0, at Rutland, at the foot of the Green Mountains.

"A little farther north, namely, in Canada, at 46°, and 47° latitude, which corresponds with the middle of France, the snow begins to fall in November, and continues on the ground till the end of April, a period of six months, from four to six feet deep, with a clear and dry air. At Quebec, the mercury usually descends to 13 and 22 degrees below 0; nay, the mercury was known, in 1790, to freeze, which implies a still greater descent. Now, such an instance seldom or never occurs in Europe, in latitudes below that of Stockholm and Petersburg, which are situated at 60°.——

"In Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire, the heats are equally intense, from their commencement at the summer solstice. For forty or fifty days together, the mercury is frequently observed to exceed 77 degrees, and sometimes rises to 86 and 90. Few years pass at Salem without its rising to 99 and 100 degrees, which is the temperature of the Persian Gulf, and the coasts of Arabia. This temperature reigns in many other parts of New England. At Rutland, S. Williams has seen the mercury at 93 degrees. What is more surprising, at Quebec, and on the shores of Hudson's Bay, in the latitude of 59°, they suffer, for twenty or thirty days, a heat of from 95 to 99 degrees, which is the more injurious, as the constitution is unprepared for it, and since it is accompanied either by a dead calm, or by a warm, humid, suffocating wind from the south. Since the winter's cold is equal to 35 and 40, and

risen 17 degrees in nine hours. At New Haven, in Connecticut, when I was there during the last month, the thermometer was —12°; at Springfield —23°; and at Northampton —26°F.

even at Prince of Wales's Fort, to 51 degrees below 0, it follows, that the annual variation is from 130 to 135 degrees of Fahrenheit.

"In the middle States, which are those southward of New York, throughout Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland, the winters are shorter, and the snow less abundant and more transient. They rarely last longer than fifteen or twenty days, but the heats are not less fierce and violent. They become settled about the middle of June, and prevail, with little remission, for six or seven weeks. Towards the end of October, they begin to decline.

"At Philadelphia, in the latitude of 39° 55', and corresponding, in this respect, with Madrid, Valencia, and Naples, the mercury sinks, every winter, to 14 and 9, and, in some seasons, to 5 and 1.—

"In the year 1788, on the 4th and 5th of February, the mercury sunk, in one night, from 27 to 4 below 0, and the river was frozen fast in the evening of next day. 1764, December 31st, between the hours of ten at night and eight in the morning, it froze sufficiently hard to bear passengers. In this sudden metamorphosis, from liquid to solid, "I have observed," says Dr. Rush, a fume or vapour rise from the surface, in so dense a column, that the people collected in admiring crowds to behold it.

"At the summer solstice, and even for twenty days after it, the heats are so intense, at Philadelphia, that the streets are deserted from noon till five o'clock. The thermometer often rises to 88 degrees. There are instances of its ascent to 95 and 99. In the course of the day, it will sometimes rise from 65 and 70, to 80 and 85, a variation of 15 and 20 degrees. What renders this heat particularly irksome, is the almost

In the Carolinas and Georgia, a variation of 20 degrees in 24 hours is common. In Charleston, on the 17th March, 1819, the thermometer fell 33°, in 12 hours; in 1751, 46° in 16 hours.

absolute repose of the air, particularly for three hours after noon, and the moisture that loads the atmosphere. From this detail, it appears, that the compass of the annual variation is from 95 to 105 degrees.

" Dr. Rush was the first who noticed the analogy subsisting between the climate of Pekin and that of Philadelphia; and a close examination will enable us to discover a striking similitude between the climate of North America and that of Northern China and Eastern Tartary.

" In the southern States, Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia, the duration and intensity of the cold declines in the same proportion as the latitude. The parallel of Potowmack, or more exactly that of the Patapsco, forms, in this respect, a distinguishing line. The dominion of snow is bounded here, and he who travels southward, may notice the *sleigh* before every farmer's door, till he descends the steeps, at the foot of which rolls the Patapsco, after which he will see that vehicle no more.

" In the interior of the country, towards the Blue Ridge, the snows prevail somewhat beyond this limit, on account of the greater elevation of the surface. This quarter, nevertheless, is exposed to severe frosts, for forty days, ensuing the winter solstice. At Norfolk, on the 4th February, 1798, there fell, in one night, five feet of snow. Even at Charleston, in the latitude of 30°, which answers to that of Morocco, the mercury sunk to 23 degrees, according to Liancourt, and the earth was frozen for a depth of two inches, in one night.

" Along the coast, below the Potowmac, from a month before the solstice, the heat is so violent, that, for four months together, the mercury rises, in the afternoon, notwithstanding the sea-breeze, to 83 and 86 degrees. At Savannah, it reaches

At the same season of the year, the heat, in different latitudes of this continent, varies to a great extent. In February last, while we were oppressed with heat amidst the orange-

102 and 106 degrees, a much higher temperature than is known in Egypt, where the medium is 88 degrees in the shade; and even this temperature is there moderated by a constant breeze, and a pure dry air. Henry Ellis observed the mercury, at Savannah, at 100 degrees. He complains that, for several nights together, it never sunk below 96. In his cellars it stood at 80, and under his arm at 96 degrees. Dr. Ramsay, who made his observations at Charleston, has seen it rise to 95 degrees, only once in five years. But Charleston, situated at the mouth of a small river, shaken by the tide, enjoys the sea-breeze, and passes for a cool place, among the people of the country, who make it their asylum in summer.

"It follows, that, in the southern States, the annual variation is from 70 to 75 degrees, and the reader has doubtless observed, that these variations decrease as we go southward. Thus, it amounts to 135 degrees near Hudson's Bay, to 110 in Massachusetts, and to 100 in Pennsylvania. It sinks to 80 degrees in Carolina. Advancing near the tropics, the annual variation, in most places, exceeds not 45 and 50 degrees. At Martinique, Porto Rico, and other windward isles, the temperature, moderated by the sea-breeze, mounts no higher than 95, nor sinks below 55, a difference of 40 degrees. On the ridge of hills, near Caraccas, at 10° north latitude, a height of more than 7000 feet above the sea, the mercury is stationary between 55 and 80 degrees. At Surinam, near the sea-shore, it vibrates between 88 and 93 degrees. The traveller going from these latitudes northward, in summer, finds the heat oppressive and irksome, exactly in proportion to his progress in this direction; and as to myself, I greatly prefer the temperature of Cairo to that of Philadelphia. It

groves of Charleston, and eating green peas grown in the open air, they were *sleighing* in the streets of Philadelphia, and the mail from New York was stopped two or three days by snow. On the 6th February, in the preceding year, the thermometer was —33° at Montreal, and +67° at Savannah, a difference of exactly 100° of temperature in less than 14°. of latitude.

is true, that, as we go towards the mountains, the heat, though still fervent, becomes more supportable, and as we approach their summits, we meet with an atmosphere lighter, purer, and more elastic. In general, however, in what are called the temperate zones, especially in low and humid regions, the temperature is more unpleasant than in what are called the *hot* countries. Within the limits of the torrid zone, the temperature is more equable than in the contiguous regions, and far more favourable to health, and to vital energy, if the air were less saturated with exhalations from animal and vegetable putrescence; and if strangers, especially those from Europe, did not carry with them their voracious attachment to gross meats and inflammatory liquors."—*Volney*.

Letter XLIII.

New York, 7th March, 1821.

We left Hartford in Connecticut, on the 2nd of March, 1821, in the Albany stage or sleigh, to visit the Missionary School at Cornwall; and at the distance of about six miles, crossed what is called "the Mountain," from the summit of which we had a charming view of the Connecticut valley on the one side, and of another extensive and very beautiful valley on the other. The descent into it was very steep; and soon after we had crossed the high land, which forms its opposite boundary, we passed through some very romantic glens, in one of which New Hartford is situated. Here we dined; and as the road to Cornwall now branched off from the Albany road, we were obliged to obtain a private sleigh. It was an open one; and although the day was extremely cold, we were not sorry to have nothing to interrupt our view. The country became dreary and uninteresting as we approached Goshen; but

on drawing near to Cornwall, about sunset, we had some beautiful mountain scenery, very similar to some of the mountain scenery in Tennessee, near Brainerd. In one respect, indeed, there was a striking contrast. In both cases, the hills were clothed with wood; but the vallies, which in Tennessee were hidden under a sombre mantle of unbroken forest, were here enlivened with the appearance of cultivation, and animated with all the cheering indications of civilized life.

As we descended into the little valley in which the Mission School is situated, the distant mountains were fading from our view; but we had just daylight enough to see the steeple of the church, and the very few houses which seemed to compose this little village, or rather this little detached part of a little village. The snow contributed to prolong our twilight, and assisted us in discerning, about a quarter of a mile before we reached the school, a retired burying-ground, with many upright slabs of white marble, over which the evening star, the only one which had yet appeared, was shedding its mild light. Here, as we afterwards learned, lay the remains of the lamented Henry Obookiah, a pupil of peculiar promise, from the Sandwich Islands. His companions, Hopoo,

Tennooe, and Honooree, returned some months since, to their native island, with the mission which was sent thither. Tamoree, king of Atooi, in a letter to his son at Cornwall, had expressed himself very desirous that missionaries should be provided, and great expectations are excited of the success of the mission.

Being informed that a Mr. ——, though not keeping a regular inn, sometimes received those who visited the school, I applied to him, in preference to taking up my quarters at a very uninviting tavern. I soon obtained admittance into a neat little chamber, where I sat up till a late hour, indulging the very interesting reflections naturally excited by my situation, in a deep retired romantic valley, where so many heathen youths were collected from different parts of the world, to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, and qualified, as far as human effort could qualify them, to diffuse the light of the Gospel over the benighted lands of their nativity. I thought of the nights which I had passed at the missionary settlements of Elliot and Brainerd, in the southern forest, where I heard this school mentioned with deep interest. Indeed, some of the Indian children at those distant settlements, had brothers or sisters here,

with whom they maintained a constant and affectionate correspondence. I saw some of their letters, written with great feeling and simplicity, in which they were encouraging each other in their Christian course, and dwelling on the importance of improving their present advantages, in order to be prepared to become blessings to their native tribes, by introducing civilization and Christianity among those sons of the forest.*

* For many interesting particulars respecting the present state of the Indian tribes, see Dr. Morse's valuable Report to the Secretary at War of the United States, on Indian Affairs.

See also, Appendix F, in which are several extracts which I have made from that Report, as it has not been republished in this country.

See also the very interesting publications of Mr. Hunter, from whose benevolent and intelligent exertions, the happiest result may be anticipated.

In a letter, dated 5th June, 1822, which I had the pleasure of receiving from the late Mr. Lowndes, whom I have so frequently mentioned in the preceding letters, he observes, "I am afraid that you give us credit which we do not deserve, when you suppose that we are familiarly acquainted with the present state of our Indian tribes. Our ignorance is extraordinary and voluntary, and from our own fault, incurable. I have received information of most interesting memoirs, written by men who had spent their lives among them, being deposited among the public archives at Washington. I have inquired for them, but have learned, that though they were permitted to be deposited there, from courtesy, so little value had been attached to them, that they had been taken out and

I rose early, and at six o'clock, when the bell rang, went to the school to prayers. A chapter in the New Testament was first read, each pupil, or rather several of them, taking a verse in succession; afterwards, David Brown, alias Awik, (a half-bred Cherokee,) the brother of Catherine Brown, whose name you often see in the missionary reports, led the devotions of the assembly; they then all dispersed to their own rooms.

You will perhaps remember my mentioning Catherine Brown, in my account of Brainerd; it was a great disappointment to me not to see her there, as I had heard much of her interesting character. She left Brainerd, I believe, the very morning I arrived, to take the superintendence of a new missionary settlement, established near Creek Path, determined to devote her life to the improvement of the social, moral, and religious condition of her Indian sisters.*

lost, nobody knowing when, or by whom. The effect of the character and condition of our Indian Tribes, even upon the present state of society in America, has always appeared to me a subject of most interesting investigation."

* I lately observed the following particulars in two American newspapers, which accidentally fell into my hands.

"Some time since, the Tennessee papers informed us, that a young Choctaw Indian, attending an English school at Nashville, delivered an eloquent oration in the language of

I have obtained a list of the native names of the scholars for you; but, in the mean time, must tell you, that there were, among others, one Malay, one Otaheitan, two Mowhees, two

his nation. It was an extemporaneous performance, and was spoken of as a *handsome** specimen of Indian oratory.

"On Friday evening last, the citizens of this town were also gratified with a very novel and interesting exhibition of the oratorical powers of one of the children of the forest. We allude to the address of Mr. David Brown, a young Cherokee Indian, and brother of the celebrated Catherine Brown. He was educated at the Mission School at Cornwall, (Connecticut,) where he has been residing between three and four years. Having embraced Christianity, he has qualified himself to act as a missionary among his own countrymen, and to impart to them civil and religious instruction. His complexion is lighter than most Indians; his features are regular, and rather handsome than otherwise, and the expression of his countenance indicates great vivacity and intelligence. In his address, which was delivered in a very appropriate, manly, and energetic style, he gave some account of himself and family, who were among the first of the Indians converted to Christianity—spoke in eloquent and glowing language of the happy state of his countrymen, previous to the discovery of the continent, and drew an affecting picture of their subsequent decline, and almost utter extinction—gave a brief account of their religion, manners, and customs, and powerfully combated the prevalent opinion, that civilization and Christianity cannot be introduced among them—spoke of the blessed effects which have already flowed from missions, declared that missionaries of the cross had been, and still would be, received with open arms by his countrymen, and concluded with a very pathetic appeal to the Christian feelings and sympathies of his audience.

* An Americanism.

Owyhees, one New Zealander, eight Cherokee Indians, two Choctaws, three Muh-he-con-nuks, one Oneida, one Tuscarora, and two Coughne-wagas. Three of them, Awik, (David Brown,)

"We were much astonished at the intimate acquaintance with our language which he evinced, and believe we speak the sentiments of all who heard him, when we say, 'that very few young men could have written an address, in every particular so unexceptionable.' The friends of missions had before them a living and intelligent witness, that they had not laboured and prayed in vain; and the enemies of missions must have felt, that by the blessing of Almighty God, something may be done by a Christian people, to enlighten and save the savages of the wilderness. It was a most interesting and gratifying scene; and we shall remember the time when we listened with admiration and delight, to a chaste and eloquent address, in our own language, from the lips of an Indian of North America."—*Newburyport Herald.*

"On the 18th July died, at the residence of Dr. Campbell, Miss CATHERINE BROWN, of the Cherokee nation. The Christian community at large, will deplore the loss of this interesting female—but the dispensation will be more severely felt by the little church at Creek Path, of which she was a distinguished member. This intelligent and pious young lady, furnished additional proof of the powerful influence of Christianity in refining the mind, improving the taste, and fortifying the heart against the seductive snares of the world, and the fear of death. A few years ago, she was immured in all the darkness of the savage state; her mind was alike a stranger either to intellectual or moral improvement. The approach of the missionaries to the land of her forefathers, was to her a happy era. Catherine was among the first of their pupils. She applied herself with diligence, and soon made very respectable attainments in learning. From these heralds of the cross, she first heard of that Saviour who soon

a Cherokee, (Kub-le-ga-nah, (Elias Boudinot,) a Cherokee, and Irepoah, an Owhyhee, afterwards paid me a visit in my room, and sat with me half an hour. They could all speak English, and Irepoah told me he had seen my country, having lain a week off the Isle of Wight, in the vessel in which he was carried to China and Amsterdam, on his way hither. The principal of the school said that Kub-le-ga-nah had gone through a course of history, geography, and surveying, had read some books of Virgil, and was then engaged in studying Enfield's philosophy, over which, indeed, I afterwards found him, when I visited the school. I also saw his trigonometrical copy-books. I had a letter of

opened her heart to attend to things that pertained to her salvation. From this period she became a devoted Christian; she interested herself deeply for the salvation of her poor benighted friends; nor were her labours in vain. She was made the honoured instrument of bringing a number of them to a knowledge of the truth. Her course was short, but brilliant. Attacked with a pulmonary complaint, she wasted away rapidly, and in a few months, was so far reduced, as to preclude all hopes of her recovery. As a last resort she was removed, for the sake of medical aid, from her father's residence, to Dr. Campbell's, of Limestone county. Under the hospitable roof of this gentleman, she received every attention her situation required. By this removal, her life, no doubt, was prolonged; but no skill of the physician, nor the kind attentions of Christian friends, could prevail against the decree of Heaven."—*Alabama Repub.*

introduction to the Rev. Mr. Dagget, the principal, who is devoting the remainder of his life to the school. He called on me at eight o'clock, and I afterwards found him at the school, where I heard some of the pupils examined. He showed me a large sheet of paper, on which were written the names of twenty or thirty common objects in English, and opposite to them the corresponding names in the different languages of all the pupils who had ever been at the school. On coming away, he gave me a copy of the 19th Psalm, in the language of the Muh-he-con-nuk, or Stockbridge tribe of Indians.*

It would be difficult to conceive a more interesting sight than was presented by this school; and you will anticipate my reflections on bidding it a final adieu. It was opened in the spring of 1817, and the following is the object stated in the constitution:—"The education, in America, of heathen youth, in such a manner, as, with subsequent professional instruction, will qualify them to become useful missionaries, physicians, schoolmasters, or interpreters; and to communicate to the heathen nations, such knowledge in agriculture and the arts, as may prove the means of promoting

* See Appendix G.

Christianity and civilization." Is not this a truly noble object? An institution very similar to this, was contemplated by Bishop Berkeley. Chandler, in his Life of President Johnson, states, that "it was part of Berkeley's plan, in establishing the University, which he projected on so liberal a scale, to train up a competent number of young Indians in succession, to be employed as missionaries among the various tribes of Indians bordering upon our settlements. It appeared to be a matter of very material consequence, that persons should be employed in this service, who were acquainted with the languages necessary to be used; and he had also a strong persuasion, that such missionaries would be much better received by the savages, than those of European extraction. These Indian lads were to be procured from the different tribes, in the fairest manner, and to be fed, clothed, and instructed, at the expense of the institution."

After what I have seen at the institution at Cornwall, and at the settlements among the Indians, in the southern forests, I anticipate the most important results from the vigorous and judicious exertions which are now directed to their civilization. The idea, that they are doomed, in the order of nature, to be swept

from the face of the earth, will no longer, I trust, be suffered to paralize the efforts of the benevolent. It is high time that we should cease to search for excuses for our indolence in those dark pages of Providence, in which their destiny is written in characters too mysterious for human skill to decypher; and that we should turn our eyes to the obvious duties and imperative obligations which arise from the peculiarity of our relative situations. It is enough for us to know that they have been injured by us, and that we can still make them some reparation; that, as hunters, they must perish, from the scarcity of the deer and buffaloes which have fled the approach of civilization; but that we have it in our power to teach them to become agriculturists; that they are ignorant, and we can give them knowledge; barbarous, and we can teach them the arts of civilization; heathens, and we can extend to them the blessings of Christianity.—Their situation, as possessors of land within the limits of the United States, is a very peculiar one; and the validity of their title to lands they do not occupy, involves some very important and perplexing considerations.* I heard some of the Indians declare, they would part with

* See Appendix F.

no more of their land,* unless General Jackson should be sent with a superior force to compel them; that he professed, on such occasions, to purchase, but that if they evinced any reluctance to sell, he told them, that their land he *would* have, by one means or another, and at last, gave them one, or perhaps two cents per acre, while the Government resold it for two dollars per acre; that they were sure their great father at Washington, did not authorize such cruelty and extortion.

My hostess was the grand-daughter of the former pastor of the village; and the family seemed much interested with Mr. Legh Rich-

* In a late American newspaper, I observed the following remarks:—"The Savannah Georgian, of the 20th instant, contains the proceedings of the chiefs of the Cherokee nation of Indians, in relation to the provisions made by the United States, for holding a treaty with them for the purpose of extinguishing their titles to lands within the chartered limits claimed by the State of Georgia. The commissioners who made the attempt to effect a negociation last winter, were unable to obtain an interview, and returned unsuccessful. The Cherokees, in their document, drawn up in council, state, 'that it was declared unanimously, to hold no treaties with commissioners, and never, hereafter, to dispose of one foot of ground, as they have not more than sufficient for their nation and their posterity.' On any other subject, they express a desire to meet the United States' commissioners, with friendship and cordiality, to keep bright the chain of peace which binds the Cherokee nation with the government of the United States."

mond's "Little Jane," which I left with them. It was a great pleasure to me to read it in this little valley, with all the associations with which it seemed so well to harmonize. We left Cornwall at ten o'clock, on the 3d, in an open sleigh. Our road, for three or four miles, lay through a natural grove of hemlock spruce, (*Pinus Canadensis,*) and cedar, which hung over our path, and whose matted boughs and dark green leaves, formed a fine contrast with the new fallen snow, which rested upon them in masses, or fell through, and gave a softer appearance to the frozen surface over which we travelled. A rapid brook, which we sometimes heard below, dashing over the rocks, and to the brink of which the road occasionally descended, improved the scene.

Soon after crossing the Housatonnuc, we ascended a mountain, from which we took our last view of this consecrated spot, whose scenery, I reflected, would be carried to almost every part of the world, in the breasts of the young missionaries, associated, in many instances, with interesting recollections of early piety, and of vows, which, made in the first fervour of their devotion to the sacred cause in which they were engaged, would often be recalled in far distant scenes to sustain their fainting spirits, or

re-animate their slackened efforts, in the meridian or evening of their days.

When we descended the mountain on the other side, we were gratified by a long succession of scenery, which reminded me more of the high moor-lands of our own country, than any thing we had lately seen. The little vallies which lay between them, were very level and richly cultivated, and the small farm-houses had more of the cottage and less of the parlour style in their appearance, than is usual in New England—perhaps I ought to say, more of the kitchen style, for the picturesque cottage of Old England is seen here as seldom as the miserable hovel or crumbling mud cabin.

Soon after passing Sharon, we entered the State of New York; and it was not without regret that I bade adieu to New England, where I had found so much to please and to interest me.

"I first entered New England, in the State of Vermont, which I crossed in the autumn, and with which I was much delighted; and the favourable impressions I received have been confirmed by more extended observation. It has been particularly gratifying to me, to perceive, that all that is most interesting and valuable in New England is derived, not from

any peculiar natural advantages, for in these she is far surpassed by almost all the rest of the United States, but from those blessings of education, which will soon, I trust, pervade the globe. Indeed, the number of schools which we observed as we passed along the roads in New England, and the neat appearance and respectable civil manners of the children going or returning with their little books under their arms, were very pleasing.

Mr. Webster was quite correct in his remark on this subject, in his eloquent oration, at the second centenary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on the Plymouth Rock. "Although," said he, "the representatives of the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland listened to a gentleman of distinguished character, (Mr. Brougham,) with astonishment and delight, when detailing his plan of national education, we hear no principles with which we ourselves have not been familiar from youth: we see nothing in the plan but an approach to that system which has been established in New England for more than a century and a half. It is said, that in England not more than one child in fifteen possesses the means of being taught to read and write: in Wales, one in twenty; in France, until lately, when some improvement was made, not

more than one in thirty-five. Now, it is hardly too strong to say, that in New England *every* child possesses such means. That which is elsewhere left to chance or charity, we secure by law. For the purpose of public instruction, we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property; and we look not to the question, whether he himself have or have not children, to be benefited by the education for which he pays. We regard it as a wise and liberal system of policy, by which property, and life, and the peace of society, are secured. We seek to prevent, in some measure, the extension of the penal code, by inspiring a salutary and conservative principle of virtue and of knowledge at an early age. We hope for a security beyond the law, and above the law, in the prevalence of enlightened and well-principled moral sentiment. We hope to continue and prolong the time when, in the villages or farm-houses of New England, there may be undisturbed sleep within unbarred doors. And knowing that our Government rests directly in the public will, that we may preserve it, we endeavour to give a safe and proper direction to that public will." All this is to be ascribed to the peculiar character of the first settlers of New England. It has been well observed, "The scattered settlements

along the shores of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which, in the map of the now extensive empire of America, can hardly be made visible, were not inhabited, as is often the case in a new colony, by men of forlorn prospects and ruined character, or by desperate expelled outcasts, but by gentlemen and yeomen of England, who, in a period of stern religious dissent, went into a voluntary distant exile, to preserve what they considered the truth."

"These solitary villages, hardly indenting the vast forest that overshadowed the continent, where labour and frugality never relaxed their cares, where every thing luxurious withered before the energy of body and mind, maintained by the daily encounter of hardship and danger; in these lone villages, there were to be found, as teachers and leaders of the flock, men who united all the learning of the schools to the piety and zeal of the confessors and martyrs. These men, who had been bred in the antique cloisters of Oxford and Cambridge, with habits and views that ordinarily lead to timid apprehensions of every thing new, and a reluctant change of locality, cheerfully came to what was then called the new, and might almost be considered another world,—and here exhorted their fellow-pilgrims to constancy. Sometimes, their

discourser was held in the deep shades of moss-grown forests, whose gloom and interlaced boughs first suggested that Gothic architecture, beneath whose pointed arches, where they had studied and prayed, the parti-coloured windows shed a tinged light; scenes, which the gleams of sunshine, penetrating the deep foliage, and flickering on the variegated turf below, might have recalled to their memory."

"A conviction of the importance of public instruction," says Mr. Webster, "was one of the earliest sentiments of our ancestors. No lawgiver of ancient or modern times has expressed more just opinions, or adopted wiser measures, than the early records of the Colony of Plymouth show to have prevailed here. Assembled on this very spot, 153 years ago, the legislature of this Colony declared, 'Forasmuch as the maintenance of good literature doth much tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing state of Societies and Republics, this Court doth, therefore, order, that in whatever township in this Government, consisting of fifty families, or upwards, any meet man shall be obtained to teach a grammar-school, such township shall allow, at least, 12 pounds, to be raised by rate, on all the inhabitants.'"

To the superior advantages of education transmitted by their forefathers to the inhabitants of the Eastern States, as well as to the poverty of their soil, is to be ascribed that spirit of emigration which pervades New England. You remember how beautifully the connection between superior intelligence in the population of a comparatively poor country, and a spirit of adventure and emigration, are pourtrayed by Dr. Currie, in his remarks on the Scottish peasant.

With respect to the agriculture of New England, I have not had an opportunity of acquiring much precise information. I was surprised to find, that even here the farmers had fallen into the error, so common in the south, of keeping too much land in tillage, and in disproportion to their means. The produce of wheat and Indian corn varies of course so materially in different parts of the country, that it is impossible to state what may be considered an average produce. I frequently hear of farms yielding 25 to 30 bushels of wheat per acre, and 40 to 60 bushels of Indian corn. In the south, (in Alabama, for example,) you will, perhaps, recollect instances which I mentioned, of 100 bushels of Indian corn per acre being obtained from the rich, fresh, and newly-cleared lands.

These, however, were extreme cases.* But to return to my narrative.—

A little circumstance which I will mention, will show you the difference between the state of manners in Connecticut and that part of the State of New York on which we had just

* "It is an error that generally prevails under the tropics, to consider grain as plants which degenerate in advancing towards the equator, and to believe, that the harvests are more abundant in the northern climates. Since calculations have been made, on the progress of agriculture in the different zones, and the temperature under the influence of which corn will flourish; it has been found, that, beyond the latitude of 45°, the produce of wheat is no where so considerable, as on the northern coasts of Africa, and on the table-lands of New Grenada, Peru, and Mexico. Without comparing the mean temperature of the season, which embraces the cycle of vegetation of corn, we find, for three months of summer in the north of Europe, from 15° to 19°, in Barbary and in Egypt, from 27° to 29° within the tropics.——

"The fine harvests of Egypt, and of the kingdom of Algiers, those of the vallies of Aragua, and the interior of the island of Cuba, sufficiently prove, that the augmentation of heat is not prejudicial to the harvest of wheat and other alimentary grain, unless it is attended with an excess of drought or moisture. To this circumstance, no doubt, we must attribute the apparent anomalies, that are sometimes observed between the tropics, in the inferior limit of corn.—We are astonished to see the east of the Havannah; in the famous district of Quatro Villas, this limit descends almost to the level of the ocean; while to the west of the Havannah, on the slope of the mountains of Mexico and Xalapa, at six hundred and seventy-seven toises of height, the luxury of vegetation is such, that wheat does not form ears.——

entered. The snow had so far disappeared from many parts of the road, that after toiling along in the mud, and availing ourselves of every little patch of snow on the road-side, we were obliged to part with our sleigh and obtain a Jersey waggon. While they were preparing this little vehicle, I went into the house of the person who undertook to convey us, and, in speaking about his coming home the same night, (it was Saturday,) or making an allowance for his staying at Poughkeepsie the following day, his wife said, "Oh, people don't think so much about the Sabbath here. In Connecticut, where I was raised, they take any body up that travels on Sunday; but here we're in a loose township, where people think little about religion—I was not brought up so." Now, in that part of Connecticut where I hired

"The environs of La Vittoria present a very remarkable aspect with regard to agriculture. The height of the cultivated ground is from two hundred and seventy to three hundred toises above the level of the ocean; and yet we there find fields of corn mingled with plantations of sugar-canes, coffee, and plaintains. Excepting the interior of the island of Cuba, we scarcely find any where in the equinoctial regions, European corn cultivated in large quantities, in so low a region. The fine fields of wheat in Mexico, are at between six hundred and twelve hundred toises of absolute elevation; and it is rare to see them descend to four hundred toises."—*Humboldt's Travels.*

the sleigh, it was considered quite a matter of course "to tarry on the Sabbath," as they termed it, and to include it in their calculation of expenses.

The owner and driver of the Jersey waggon was of German extraction, though a "*native born*" American, and was very conversable. He told me, that his father and his brother had remained after the late war, in Upper Canada, where they found the land excellent,* and that he would go there too, but his "woman's father" was

* The following observations of Dr. Dwight respecting the quality of new lands in North America, deserve serious attention:—

"In estimating the quality of new lands in America, serious errors are very commonly entertained, from the want of due attention to the following fact. Wherever the forests have been undisturbed by fire, they have accumulated, by shedding their foliage through a long succession of ages, and by their own decay, a covering of vegetable mould, from six to twelve inches deep, and sometimes from eighteen to twenty-four. This mould is the best of all soils, and eminently friendly to every species of vegetation. It is, indeed, no other than a mere mass of manure, and that of the very best kind, converted into mould; and, so long as it remains in considerable quantities, all grounds produce plentifully. Unless a proper allowance be made, therefore, when we are forming an estimate of the quality of soils, for the efficacy of this mould, which, so far as my observation has extended, is not often done, those on which it abounds will be of course over-rated. On the contrary, where it does not abound, the quality of the soil will, in a comparative view, be under-rated. Hence, all

loth to lose his daughter; that he resigned a commission he held in the American army on finding his company ordered to the Canadian frontiers, as it seemed unnatural to

maple lands, which, from their moisture, are incapable of being burnt, are considered as more fertile than they ultimately prove; while oak, and even pine lands, are almost of course regarded as being less fertile. The maple lands in Ballston are found to produce wheat in smaller quantities, and of a worse quality, than the inhabitants, misled by the exuberance of their first crops, expected. Their pine lands, on the contrary, yield more and better wheat, than, till very lately, they could be induced to believe. The same things severally are true, as I have already observed, of the oak and maple lands in the county of Ontario.

"From this source it has arisen, that all the unburnt new lands in the northern, middle, southern, and western States, have been, and still are, uniformly valued beyond their real worth. When the tract on the Green Mountains in Massachusetts was first settled, the same luxuriant fertility was attributed to it, which has since characterized Kentucky. About the same time, it was ascribed to the valley of Housatonnuc, in the county of Berkshire. From these tracts it was transferred to the lands in New Hampshire and Vermont, on the Connecticut, and thence to those in Vermont, on the western side of the Green Mountains. From these regions, the paradise has travelled to the western parts of the State of New York, to New Connecticut, to Upper Canada, to the countries on the Ohio, to the south-western territory, and is now making its progress over the Mississippi, into the newly-purchased regions of Louisiana. The accounts given of all these countries, successively, were extensively true, but the conclusions which were deduced from them were, in a great measure, erroneous. So long as this mould remains,

fight against his neighbours, and still more against his own *kin*. We stopped towards night, to feed our horses at a place called Pleasant Valley, where there was a larger circle than

the produce will regularly be great, and that with very imperfect cultivation; for the mould, in its native state, is so soft and light, as scarcely to need the aid of the plough.

"But this mould, after a length of time, will be dissipated. Where lands are continually ploughed, it is soon lost; on those which are covered with grass from the beginning, it is preserved through a considerable period. At length, however, every appearance of its efficacy, and even of its existence, vanishes.

"The true object of inquiry, whenever the quality of a soil is to be estimated, is the nature of the earth immediately beneath the vegetable mould; for this, in every case, will ultimately be the soil. If this is capable of being rendered, by skilful cultivation, regularly productive, the soil is good; if not, it is poor. With this object in view, I have formed the opinion expressed above, concerning the country under discussion. Throughout most of this tract, the earth beneath the mould is an excellent soil. The mould itself will speedily be gone. It is wisely and kindly provided by the Creator, to answer the immediate calls of the first settlers. These are of course few and poor, are embarrassed by many wants and difficulties; and need their time and labour, to build their houses, barns, and enclosures, as well as to procure, with extreme inconvenience, many articles of necessity and comfort, which are obtained in older settlements, without labour or time. To them it is a complete and ample manure, on which whatever is sown springs with vigour, and produces, almost without toil or skill, a plentiful harvest. But it was not intended to be permanent. It is not even desirable that it should be. To interrupt, or even to slacken, the regular

usual sitting round the fire, and fewer persons standing about the bar, which I attributed to our being in a German neighbourhood. They were talking about "a caucus" which had been held, or was going to be held, for the appointment of some petty officer. I will explain this proceeding to you when we meet. We have long been familiar with it, as a preliminary movement in the election of President; but I was not aware, when I left England, that it extended to the election of very subordinate officers. It was starlight for two hours before we reached Poughkeepsie, where I met with a very frigid reception from a very surly landlord, who seemed to suppose he was conferring a favour by allowing me to cross his threshold. I obtained a comfortable little room, however, and saw my frosty friend only once while I staid. I rose early next morning, and found, to my satisfaction, that my window looked over the noble Hudson to the high land on the opposite side; and, on going out, I found myself, as I expected, in sight of some of the finest

labour of man materially, is to do him an injury. One of the prime blessings of temperate climates is this: that they yield amply to skilful labour, and without it yield little or nothing. Where such is the fact, energy and effort will follow, and all their inestimable consequences. Where countries are radically barren, man will despair."

mountains in North America. These are the Kaatskill, the fine northern range, in which, according to Volney, are to be found the sources of the Delaware. They are the most picturesque range that I have seen in America, (except, perhaps, one range in Virginia, from the valley of the Shenandoah, and I do not know that I ought to except that.) Their rounded summits and towering peaks give them a strong resemblance to our mountain scenery, and form a striking contrast to the unbroken continuity and horizontal outline of the American mountains generally, and especially of the Alleghany. They are not higher than the fine range of the Lake Mountains, which we see from Lancaster Castle, nor, I think, either more beautiful or sublime; but it is difficult to compare objects, where the one is present to the eye, the other only to the imagination. It was a very fine morning, and the sun threw a rich red tinge over their snowy steeps when he rose. To the south, the Fishkill Mountains, which are also very remarkable ones, were distinctly visible; and in the vicinity of this fine scenery—by many persons considered the finest in North America—I had arranged to pass my last Sabbath on these western shores. To how many interesting reflections, prospec-

tive and retrospective, that single consideration gave rise, I must leave you to imagine.

In the Episcopal Church, a little plain building, we had a good sermon from the words, "All things are yours," &c. and in the afternoon, in the Baptist Meeting, on a kindred subject from the text, "All things work together for good to them that love God, that are the called according to his purpose."

We had a glorious sunset behind the distant mountains, and as the sun went down I appeared to take leave of America; for I anticipated little time either to think or feel during the ensuing week of preparation.

Letter XLIV.

New York, 7th March, 1821.

We left Poughkeepsie at four o'clock the next morning in the stage. This is principally a Dutch town, as is very evident in the construction of the buildings, and the figures of the men and women; the former of smaller, the latter of ampler, dimensions than are common in America. The ride to New York, 80 miles, is one of the most striking in this country. In the space of 20 miles, through and over what are called the Highlands, or the Fishkill Mountains, I saw more of Nature's ruins than in my whole life before:

> "Craggs, knolls, and mounds, confusedly hurl'd,
> "The fragments of an earlier world."

Many of the smaller defiles resembled the Trossachs, but were far wilder. I will, however, attempt no description. I will only say, that for two days I was revelling in magnificent scenery, and adding largely to those chambers of imagery, from which I hope, during life, to

be able to summon at pleasure the most sublime and beautiful forms of nature.

I had a very fine view of the passage which the Hudson has forced for itself through the Fishkill Mountains. We were within a short distance of the Hudson during a great part of the day; frequently on its banks; and as the day was bright, and I sat by the coachman till it was dark, I saw the country to great advantage. I had before sailed through the Highlands by moonlight, on my way to Canada. We reached New York after midnight, (this morning;) and I am now writing my last letter to England in the house where I slept the night we landed, sixteen months since. I can hardly believe, that only sixteen months have elapsed since I first hailed these western shores. Every week, indeed, has glided rapidly away; but the new sources of interest which have opened to me on every side, and the various scenes through which I have passed, have supplied such a rapid succession of ideas and feelings, as to give to the intervening period an apparent extension far beyond its real limits. In little more than a year, I have visited Upper and Lower Canada, and traversed the United States from their northern to their southern extremity, comprehending, in my route, the

States of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee. I have crossed the Alleghany in Tennessee, the Blue Ridge in Virginia, and the Green Mountains in Vermont. I have sailed on those inland seas, and traversed those boundless forests, which are associated with our earliest conceptions of this Western world. I have seen the St. Lawrence precipitate its mighty torrent down the Falls of Niagara, reflect from its calm expanse the frowning battlements of Quebec, and then flow majestically to the wintry shores of Labrador; and the Mississippi,* rising in the same table-land as the St. Lawrence, rolling its turbid waters for 3000 miles to the orange-groves of Louisiana, and, at last, falling into the Gulf of Mexico, under nearly the same latitude as the Nile. I have conversed with the polished circles of the Atlantic cities; the forlorn emigrant in the wilderness; the Negro on the plantation; and the Indian in his native forest. In successive intervals of *space*, I have traced society through those various stages which, in

* For a particular account of the sources of the Mississippi, see Appendix H.

most countries, are exhibited only in successive periods of *time*. I have seen the roving hunter acquiring the habits of the herdsman; the pastoral state merging into the agricultural, and the agricultural into the manufacturing and commercial.

I am now on the eve of embarking for the old world. Need I add, that I shall return, if I am spared, with undiminished affection for the friends I have left behind; with unshaken fidelity and attachment to the land of my nativity; and, if possible, with a deeper sense than ever of the glory and privilege of having been born "*a British*," as the interpreter of my Indian hunters would say. Indeed, you need not fear that my country will possess too few attractions for me, while she produces so many male and female worthies. Who would renounce the honour of being the compatriot of her living ornaments, to say nothing of her long line of illustrious dead? But even her woods, her rivers, and her mountains, have not lost one charm by comparison. Our woods and rivers will appear more diminutive, perhaps, than before, but not less picturesque; and Ingleborough and Lonsdale, Coniston Fells and our Lake scenery, are surpassed in beauty by nothing which I have seen. You must not be surprised, however, if I

feel a strong emotion, on bidding a last adieu to these western shores; to a country where I have passed so many happy hours; where I have found so much to stimulate and gratify curiosity; and where I have experienced a degree of attention which I never can forget. In the interest which I must ever feel in the destinies of this favoured land, in her European, her African, and her Aboriginal* population, I seem as if I were endowed with a new sense. I see in the Americans, a people who are to show to generations yet unborn, what *British* energy can accomplish, when unfettered by the artificial arrangements of less enlightened times, and the clumsy machinery of the old complicated system of commercial policy; when combining with the elastic vigour of renovated youth, the experience of a long and spirited career of prosperity and glory; and when bringing to the boundless regions of a new world, fair and fresh from the hand of its Creator, the intellectual treasures which have been accumulating for centuries in the old.

It is in this light that I wish to regard America; as a scion from the old British oak—not as a rival, whose growing greatness is to

* For some remarks on the Aboriginal population of North America, see Appendix I.

excite jealousy and apprehension, but as the vigorous child of an illustrious parent, whose future glory may reflect lustre on the distinguished family from which she sprang, and who should be solicitous to prove herself worthy of her high descent. May her future career evince both her title and her sensibility to her hereditary honours. May the child forget the supposed severity of the parent, and the parent the alleged obstinacy of the child; and while, as two independent nations, they emulate each other in glorious deeds, may they combine their commanding influence to promote the best interest of the human race!

JOURNAL, &c.

JOURNAL AT SEA, &c.

Ship ALBION, 10th March, half-past 10 o'clock, A. M.

10*th March.*—At 10 o'clock went on board the steam-boat Connecticut, and found a large party of our friends. They accompanied us about twenty miles, to Sandy Hook, where we reached the Albion, which had dropt down in the night. It was the very spot where we dropped anchor on our arrival in the Western World, sixteen months before, and brought strongly to my recollection, my feelings at that time, when about to land a stranger on a foreign shore. Our friends have just taken leave of us, with three cheers, and the large steam-boat, which moved gracefully from us, is now fast disappearing towards the Narrows.

4 o'clock.—The passengers are beginning to survey each other a little. They consist of the Chief Justice of Bermuda, Lord K——, two American physicians, and several English, French, and American merchants, in all nineteen, besides three children and a lady, who have not yet appeared on deck.—Have just been talking

with Judge E——, whose impressions, with respect to America, correspond with mine.

We have just passed the Radius, bound to London. The morning was very fine, and the day beautiful; it is now rather rough.

11th, Sunday.—At one o'clock, the Chief Justice read the Church Prayers, and one of Blair's Sermons on Public Worship; many of us are beginning to feel sea-sick. Distance run since twelve o'clock yesterday, 181 miles.

12th.—Dull weather—rather rough—many of us unwell. The lightning, last night, led us to suppose we were in the Gulf Stream,* but it seems we were wrong. A little bird is in the rigging, though we are 300 miles from land.—Our two cabin boys have never been at sea before, and are suffering terribly.—Distance run, 173 miles.

13th.—A beautiful morning—after breakfast a large reading party on deck; the wind moderate in the morning, improving towards night—it is now (midnight) carrying us eight and a half knots an hour.—The moon is shining sweetly on the waves, and the air is so soft and fresh, I hardly like to retire.—Saw some sea-gulls to-day. Distance run, 72 miles; long. 66°; lat. 39° 18'.

14th.—Wet, and rather wild—the wind fair—all driven to the cabin, where some are reading, some writing—the invalids disordered.—Distance 184 miles.

15th.—Last night we had a severe gale, and were obliged to take in all our sail, except the foresail—rose this morning, sore all over with the rolling of the vessel—and so ill with sickness and head-ache that I could

* See Appendix A.

not open a book, or look up—the sea rough and unpleasant. In the course of the day saw some bottle-nose whales.—223 miles.

16th.—Am again able to read on deck, but cannot stay in my state-room, nor take any meals below.—183 miles.

17th.—Fine calm day—the invalids better. We believe we have now left the Gulf Stream, in which it is supposed we have been during the last two days.—Saw a ship on the horizon, but indistinctly; it is the first we have seen since we left New York, this day week. This evening have been walking with the Chief Justice, on deck; he tells me the cause of visiting England is, that ——, the Governor, has suspended him and two more of the Executive Council, for differing from him in opinion. The courts, during his absence, are closed, the lawyers refusing to plead, except before professional men.—115 miles.

18th, Sunday.—So violent a storm, that we can have no service on board. Still we have an opportunity of seeing the "works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep." The waves are mountains high—sometimes crested with foam—sometimes curling and pouring down a torrent of green water, like the heavy mass in the middle of the Falls of Niagara. Our rails have been under water a great part of the day; and those of us who staid on deck, have been lashed to the side. The wind has been constantly heavy, and sometimes has come up in squalls, which drove us at a tremendous rate, though we had only our foresail set, and the mizen-top-gallant yards were brought on deck. The waves seemed to rise on every side, as if they

were going to form into a cone, and close in upon us—sometimes to let us down into an abyss, from which it seemed impossible we should ever rise.—Distance 201 miles.

19th.—During the night the wind has been completely round the compass.—It is now fair, (10 o'clock, a. m.) the day dry, but cloudy; the wind cold; while yesterday it was quite warm, though so violent; in both cases from the south.—173 miles.—The weather seemed to intimate that we were within the influence of the Banks of Newfoundland, and an observation confirmed the idea.—The captain thought we were a little to the south of them, but the mate supposed, from the colour of the water, that we were passing over the edge. While the rest were at dinner, he and I tried the temperature of the water, which, on the Banks, is almost always at 34°. In the air it was 48°; but on letting it into the water, it sunk at once to 34°.

20th.—The wind very high, and the ship, for some time, driven more rapidly than the captain remembers on any former occasion.—This morning, 12 a. m. we have a fine north-west wind.—10 o'clock, p. m. we have now a violent gale—one of our sails has just been carried away.—251 miles.

"Our path is on the mountain wave." The storm has driven my companions to their births, and gives my table sometimes an horizontal, sometimes almost a perpendicular position; and sometimes suspends both it and me, at an angle of 45°. At seven o'clock this evening, it was a fine star-light night; and in less than an hour, we were all in confusion, with a sudden blast of the equinoctial gale, which has shivered one of our sails, and is now roaring around us, as in some of

the terrible nights on shore, when we pity the poor fellows who are exposed to the boisterous seas. We have, however, got all our sails down, except one, and now feel *snug*, as the sailors call it, although the wind is driving us along at a tremendous rate, and tossing us about as if our ship was a feather. But I have great confidence in the excellence of our vessel, and the skill of our captain; though in some of our critical moments these would be broken reeds, if we did not repose on Him who "stilleth the raging of the seas." When plunging into the abysses from which it would seem impossible our bark should ever rise, I often think of the lines,—

"And when in dreadful whirls we hung,
"High on th' impending wave,
"I knew thou wert not slow to hear,
"Nor impotent to save."

12 o'clock, p. m.—I have just been on deck—the gale is moderating—the lightning has ceased—and some stars are again appearing.—I cannot help smiling when I look around me; exactly opposite is Lord K———, fast asleep in his birth; behind, Captain ———, of the British Navy—the other passengers all in their births, but less accustomed to the sea, awake and restless, and alarmed, and knocked about till they are sore —my servant and the steward stretched on beds on the cabin floor—while I am writing by a handsome glass lamp, which seems more fit for a drawing-room than a cabin, and as if the slightest breeze would shiver it to pieces; but it is so hung, that it remains safe in all the tossing of the vessel.—It is again just midnight.

21st.—We have all passed a terrible night, and the captain says he seldom remembers the vessel rolling so much. The swell of the sea combines with the particular state of the wind to cause it. To-day it is cold, and most uncomfortable.—183 miles.

22nd.—A fine day—we still make rapid progress.—The Chief Justice of Bermuda has been giving me some particulars about the Island.—Sunday-schools are increasing, especially among the blacks.—228 miles,—Long. 38°—lat. 43°.

It is again midnight; but as we have 19 passengers, and as I cannot write in my state-room, I avail myself of a quiet moment, which can only occur when all are in bed, to write my journal,

> "Noting, ere they fade away,
> "The little lines of yesterday."

There is, however, little variety to note: the account of one day's routine will almost serve for all.—At 7 o'clock the bell rings to call up the passengers, who make their appearance at all hours from six to nine o'clock, when the bell rings for breakfast. When those who are up leave the deck, where they have been inquiring how fast we have gone during the night—which way the wind is—what are our prospects for that day, &c. &c.—Breakfast usually consists of coffee, chocolate, and tea, veal cutlet, or beef-steaks, sausages, &c. and hot bread and butter; and when our poor cow, in the long-boat on deck, has been bountiful, we are indulged with milk or cream, but the frequent storms interfere with her bounty, and her supplies, when most generous, are often intercepted, as it is proper they should be, by some children who are on board. After break-

fast, we usually go on deck with or without books, and muffled up in great coats, our vessel being too generally on her side during this stormy passage, to admit of exercise.—About eleven o'clock, those who are troubled with ennui, go down for a glass of wine and bitters. At twelve o'clock they descend again for lunch, and call for it, if not ready, with an impatience and impetuosity which would indicate the efficiency of the bitters in creating an appetite. Lunch consists of cold meat, cheese, biscuits, seed-cake, Port and Madeira wine, cider, ale, porter, &c. and about two-thirds of the passengers usually attend. Those who begin to be tired of themselves by one o'clock, then "turn in," as they call it, or get into their births and try to sleep; the rest talk or read on the deck, or in the cabin till four o'clock, when dinner is announced. By the solicitude which is expressed for this hour, you would imagine that breakfasts and luncheons were omitted at sea. The dinners would really be considered as excellent on shore. They usually consist of soup, one or two roasted turkies, ducks and fowls, poultry-pies, and beef, or mutton, with hot tarts, or puddings, which last, on Sundays, are always plum-puddings. There is then a dessert of apples, almonds and raisins, hickory-nuts, figs, prunes, &c.; and as the wines are found by the ship, I assure you they are not spared. There are generally three or four who stick to the bottle till seven o'clock, and then come on deck to smoke a cigar, while the table is preparing for tea, which is announced by a bell at eight o'clock. After tea, there is usually one party at whist, and another at chess or backgammon, the rest read in the cabin, or walk on deck. At nine, many of the passengers take a glass of

hot whiskey-punch, and some "turn in;" others go on deck, and walk till eleven, when they come down, and take a last (or last but one,) glass of brandy and water; and thus, with the aid of the four meals, and two or three subsidiary morsels, and half a dozen glasses of spirits, ends the day.—Some, however, are as abstemious as on shore, (others, against their will, much more so,) and we have three or four on board, who, amidst all the interruptions incident to a rough passage, and close quarters with 19 or 20 passengers, contrive to get five or six hours of steady reading, and three or four of agreeable conversation; but much time is almost necessarily lost at sea, except it be employed in reflection, which there is much to excite, or in learning patience. With regard to lessons of patience, perhaps, the captain has the best chance; for we are all perpetually asking him questions, which it is impossible for him to answer.—"Captain, which way is the wind going to be to-morrow?"—"Captain, how far shall we have run by twelve o'clock to-night?" "Captain, how long will this wind hold?"—"Captain, shall we meet the James Monroe coming out of Liverpool?—Captain, you said last night it looked easterly-like, and here's the wind blowing west, as steady as it can blow," &c. —Towards night, we all have our patience exercised, by pathetic soliloquies, and the exhibition of petty miseries we cannot relieve: "Oh, I wish I was in Liverpool." —"Well, I'll never cross the Atlantic again, I can tell you."—"It's very odd that medical men, whose business it is, can give us no cure for sea-sickness.—Captain, have you nothing on board that will stay on one's stomach?—I have tried every thing at regular meals, and the steward has cooked me a great many things, but

I can get nothing to do."—"Why, sir, we've arrow-root and sago, and the steward will make you any kind of gruels or soups that you fancy."—"Oh, I've tried all those, and they are all alike. I am as sick as ever.—I wish the ship would not roll so.—Don't you think, if you lowered the topsails she would roll less?"—"No; I don't think she would, sir, and, at all events, she would not go so quick."—"Why, I am sure she is not going five knots an hour."—"Yes, sir, she is going nine."—"I'll bet you ten dollars she's not going more than seven."—"Yes, sir; we have just hove the log, and she's going nine."

23d.—Still a fair wind—an unfortunate *row* last night among some of the gay young passengers; but it was suppressed by the cool determination and gentlemanly conduct of the captain—256 miles.

24th.—We find we have sailed 1535 miles since this day week.

25th, Sunday.—Had service on board, at which many of the sailors attended, with far more apparent seriousness than some of the passengers.—So wet, that we were all confined below. The sermon read by Judge E—— was one of Blair's. "Our times are in his hand." To-day, in the church prayers, we prayed for his Majesty King George—last Sunday, for the President of the United States.—At nine o'clock, a severe gale came on, and we were obliged to take down every sail—184 miles.

26th.—A fair wind, but less brisk; at twelve o'clock, we calculated that we were 520 miles from Cape Clear.—At night, passed a brig, bound to Europe, but did not speak her.—Have seen several sea-gulls during the last two days, sometimes swimming—184 miles.

27th.—An unpleasant day—confined below by incessant rain—222 miles.

28th.—Last night we had a violent gale—the most severe one we have had yet. One of the men was left insensible in the rigging, by a blow from a rope, which was snapped by the wind. The captain said the rope was calculated to hold many tons, and consisted of 700 strands, one of which two of us endeavoured in vain to break.—To-day, we have had an observation of the sun, and to-night have been finding our exact position on the chart. We expect to get *soundings* to-morrow, and go to bed in high spirits.—I still think we shall arrive on Saturday, 31st inst.—157 miles.

29th, 10 o'clock, a. m.—This morning, at five o'clock, we got soundings—80 fathoms deep, and in the course of a few hours, we expect to see the south-west coast of Ireland. The water has changed its colour from deep indigo to blue green, and has assumed the general appearance which it has when seen from land. We have a fine north-west wind; and it is the finest day we have experienced since we left New York.

> "Amid the war of sea and sky,
> "Top and top-gallant hoisted high,
> "Full spread and crowded every sail,
> "The gallant *Albion* braves the gale."
>
> *Falconer's Shipwreck.*

10 o'clock at night.—We have been delighted all afternoon in tracing the Irish coast, which we first saw about one o'clock.—Cape Clear came first in sight, and then a mountainous tract of country. In the course of the afternoon, we have seen Kinsale light-house and the entrance into Cork harbour. We are now opposite

Dungarvon, expecting to see Waterford light in an hour. We have already passed the mouth of the Bristol Channel. —It is a beautiful star-light night, and the fine air from the Irish coast regales us with the smell of the turf, to my senses more delightful just now than the cinnamon of Ceylon, or the spices of "Araby the blest."—I almost fancy I smell the oatcakes.—Passed a brig to-day, with troops for Malta, the Christiana transport. Since we have been in the Channel, Captain Williams has been unwilling to converse with the passengers, or even to smoke a cigar, and has scarcely ever left the deck, his attention being entirely absorbed by his official duties. He is an excellent sailor, vigilant, cool, and intrepid, and his good humour seems inexhaustible—153½ miles.

30th.—Sat up till near one o'clock this morning, and rose at three o'clock to see Tuskar light—went to bed again, and on rising to breakfast found we were opposite the Wicklow mountains, which were covered with snow. We have had a fine view of Holyhead this evening and have enjoyed the smooth sea, after our tempestuous tossings. It is now rough again, and we have just (eight o'clock, p. m.) got a pilot on board.

31st.—Once more on my native land, after a passage of 21 days.

It is with melancholy feelings that I refer the reader to the following most affecting letters, for an account of the calamitous fate which befel the Albion the following year, when my lamented friend, Captain Williams, and nearly all his passengers and crew, experienced the horrors of a watery grave, near the *Old Head* of Kinsale:—

SHIPWRECK OF THE ALBION PACKET.

We have to record a melancholy event, in the loss of the packet ship Albion, from New York to Liverpool. This fine vessel sailed from New York on the 1st instant, with a crew of 24 men, and about 28 passengers. On the 22nd instant, she was entirely lost on the coast of Ireland, off Garretstown, near the Old Point of Kinsale. Only two passengers, and seven of the crew were saved. All the particulars of this melancholy shipwreck, which have been received in town up to the hour that we are writing, are contained in two letters, published in the *Mercury* yesterday, and which we give beneath:

"*Kinsale, 4th Month*, 22, 1822.

"On my arrival in this place, early this morning, I was informed of the melancholy fate of the ship Albion, Captain Williams, one of the line of packet ships from New York to your port. She was cast away before daylight this morning, to the westward of the Old Head, near a place called Garretstown, and I grieve to say, poor Captain Williams is no more. There were 22 passengers on board, in the cabin, 15 men and seven women, all of whom have met a watery grave, with the exception of one young man from Boston, I understand; and he is so exhausted, he could not give the names of the others, or any particulars: seven of the crew are saved, one of the mates, and six men. I am informed that there was a considerable sum in specie on board; part of the deck only floated ashore. Last night was very tempestuous; and, it seems, the ship lost her masts about ten o'clock,

carrying a press of sail off the land, wind S. S. E. which was the cause of the misfortune; it was about three o'clock this morning that she struck on a ledge of rocks, and went to pieces. I understand a few bales of cotton have come ashore. It is my intention to go to the spot, and render any service in my power to the unfortunate survivors; and if any thing particular comes to my knowledge, relative to this truly awful and melancholy catastrophe, I shall drop you a line.

"In haste, your sincere friend,

"JACOB MARK."

"*Garretstown, 22nd April*, 1822.

"HONOURED SIR,—At some time before four o'clock this morning, I was informed that a ship was cast on the rocks at the bottom of your dairy farms, to which place I immediately repaired; and at about the centre of the two farms, I found a vessel on the rocks, under a very high cliff. At this time, as it blew a dreadful gale, with spring-tide and approaching high water, the sea ran mountains high; however, I descended with some men as far down the cliff as the dashing of the sea would permit us to go with safety, and there had the horrid spectacle of viewing five dead bodies stretched on the deck, and four other fellow-creatures distractedly calling for assistance, which we were unable to afford them, as certain death would have attended the attempt to render them any. Of those in this perilous situation, one was a female, whom, though it was impossible, from the wind and the roaring of the sea, to hear her, yet from her gestures, and the stretching out of her hands, we

judged to be calling and imploring for our assistance. At this time, the greater part of the vessel lay on a rock, and part of the stern, where this poor woman lay, projected over a narrow creek, that divides this rock from another. Here the sea ran over her with the greatest fury, yet she kept a firm hold, which it much astonished me that she could do; but we soon perceived that the vessel was broke across, where she projected over the rock, and after many waves dashing against her, this part of the vessel rolled into the waves, and we had the heart-rending scene of seeing the woman perish. The three men lay towards the stern of the vessel, one of whom stuck to a mast, which projected towards the cliff, to whom, after many attempts, we succeeded in throwing a rope, and brought him safe ashore. Another we also saved; but the constant dashing of the waves put an end to the sufferings of the others. This vessel proves to be the Albion, of New York, packet, Captain Williams, which place she left on the 1st instant for Liverpool, with a cargo of cotton, raw turpentine, rice, &c. and with about 28 passengers. Her crew consisted of 24; and of the whole, there have been saved only nine, making the sufferers amount to 43. Out of the passengers there have been saved but two. The bodies of five men and two women have been picked up. After doing every thing possible for these poor creatures, I exerted myself, with Mr. Gibbons, in saving the private property of the poor sailors and passengers, and succeeded in saving some of their trunks. I have brought four of these poor creatures here. Mr. Gibbons has taken three, and two more remain at the dairymen's houses, from whence they were too weak to be removed. Captain

Williams is among the sufferers. As I know your feelings towards those thus situated, I have taken the liberty of preparing some thin boards, to make coffins for these seven. She is now completely gone to pieces. She was, I think, as fine a vessel of her description as could be seen. My situation does not allow me to say more at present, as I was never more fatigued, and remain,

"Honoured Sir,

"Your ever grateful and faithful servant,

(Signed) "JOHN PURCELL."

Further Particulars of the Loss of the Albion Packet.

"Kinsale, 4th Month, 26, 1822.

"ON my arrival here on the 22nd, I wrote you a hasty letter, apprising you of the melancholy fate of the ship Albion. I went over the fatal spot, and I cannot describe the scene that presented itself to my view, nor am I disposed to dwell on the heart-rending scene. I shall be as brief as possible. Henry Cammyer, the first mate, is saved, and six of the crew. The whole company on board, including passengers, amounted to fifty-four, of whom forty-five perished, and nine are saved. The log-book being lost, the mate could not give me a list of the passengers; but, from memory, he has given me the names of eighteen, which are annexed. As the bodies that were found, lay on the shore, the mate pointed out to me their respective names, which were put on paper and placed on each body; and I gave directions that the graves should be numbered, and a list made

out, which I expected to get this day, by which it can be easily ascertained where each body lies in the grave-yard. A clergyman attended the melancholy procession. This may be some consolation to the afflicted relatives of the dead. Very little of the wreck remains, and the country people are carrying it off in all directions, in small pieces. I have desired the remnant to be put up to auction and sold.—Yours, truly,

"JACOB MARK."

Copy of a Letter to the Owners of the Albion, giving an account of what happened to the Ship previous to her being driven on the rocks.

"Kinsale, (Ireland,) 27th April, 1822.

"GENTLEMEN,—I have taken the liberty to perform the unpleasant task, of giving you the particulars of the melancholy shipwreck of your ship Albion, commanded by my esteemed friend, J. Williams. After leaving New York, on the 1st, they had a fine passage until the 21st; then, being off this coast, they experienced a tremendous gale of wind from the S. S. E. The ship was hove to, under a close-reefed main-topsail, and fore and main trysail, until about forty minutes past eight o'clock, p. m. she shipped a sea, which knocked her on her beam-ends, swept her decks, and her mainmast went by the board. She righted; and they found they had lost one cabin passenger, (a Mr. Converse of Troy,) and five of the crew; and their three axes, they had previously pre-

pared in case of necessity, were lost, which left them without the means of clearing the wreck. The cabin had filled to leeward, and every thing fetched away; and a number of the passengers very much injured. Captain Williams made every exertion to encourage the crew to clear the wreck; but it could not be done, and she drifted in shore until about midnight, when they made the Light of the Old Head of Kinsale. The gale continuing, attended with a heavy sea, their situation was now seen by Captain Williams; but he kept constantly encouraging all on board, and exerting himself in every manner to save the ship, until about four o'clock in the morning of the 22nd. All hopes were taken away as the day dawned; they found the ship near the surf, which was breaking against the cliffs, which are 150 feet high, nearly perpendicular. Capt. Williams then informed the passengers of the situation of the ship, and that no exertions could possibly save her, and in five minutes she struck; and but nine, out of the whole number, survive; one of which is Mr. Everhart, of Chester County, Pennsylvania, cabin passenger, and the only one of the cabin passengers that was saved. The ship went on shore in Courtmasherry Bay, about three miles to the westward of the Light of the Old Head of Kinsale, and in a few minutes went to pieces. The ship and cargo will not nett one dollar. One box of gold has been found and recovered, and that is all that ever will be. There were many persons upon the cliffs, witnessing the melancholy sight, about 200 feet distant from the ship, but could not render them any assistance. A few of the bodies have been found, but the body of

Captain Williams is yet missing; if it be found, it will be buried in a suitable manner." *

(From the Cork Southern Reporter of Saturday.)

"The Albion, whose loss at Garretstown-bay, we first mentioned in our paper of Tuesday, was one of the finest class of ships between Liverpool and New York, and was 500 tons burthen. We have since learned some further particulars, by which it appears that her loss was attended with circumstances of a peculiarly afflicting nature. She had lived out the tremendous gale of the entire day on Sunday, and Captain Williams consoled his passengers, at eight o'clock in the evening, with the hope of being able to reach Liverpool on the day but one after, which cheering expectation induced almost all the passengers, particularly the females, to retire to rest. In some short time, however, a violent squall came on, which, in a moment, carried away the masts, and there being no possibility of disengaging them from the rigging, they so encumbered the hull, that she became unmanageable, and drifted at the mercy of the waves, till the Light-house at the Old Head was discovered, the wreck still nearing in, when the captain told the sad news to the passengers, that there was no longer any hope; and soon after she struck. From thenceforward all was distress and confusion. The vessel soon went to pieces, and of

* The body of Captain Williams was never found. When last seen he was struggling in the water, with a round bag of cotton, which revolved as he endeavoured to lay hold of it. He sunk twice, and then springing out of the water as high as his waist, and uttering a dreadful shriek, he sunk a third time, to rise no more.

the crew and passengers, only six of the former, and one of the latter, were saved. The mate is among the preserved, and that preservation was almost miraculous. He was thrown on a cliff by a wave, and had succeeded in climbing to the top of it, when another took him off. He was thrown back again, and was more fortunate; but his appearance bespeaks the sufferings he endured, from the beating of his body against the rocks; he is dreadfully bruised. The number of passengers, we believe, was 25. Of these, as we have already stated, one only was saved; a gentleman of Boston, who traded with Liverpool. He had arrived at New York, almost as the Albion was on the point of sailing, and had not time to get bills for a large sum in specie which he had. It was, therefore, shipped and lost. Several of the bodies have been washed ashore; and Jacob Mark, Esq. the American consul at this port, having repaired to the scene where the wreck took place, on learning the melancholy intelligence, has done every thing befitting his situation, and a man of humanity, under the circumstances. He has provided coffins for the bodies, and caused them to be interred with their respective names affixed, having first had the mate to point them out, in order that, if the families of any of them should wish hereafter to have the bodies removed, they may be enabled to do so. Mr. Mark's conduct is, in every respect, most praiseworthy, and he has taken measures for the protection of every thing that has been washed ashore, as well as for securing any thing that may yet be recovered. Among the property already found is a box of specie; and among the bodies washed ashore is that of a French lady: she was extremely beautiful: when first

discovered by some respectable persons, it was entirely naked. It is mentioned to us as a fact, which we think ought to be mentioned, that a country boy, who saw the body, took off his outside coat and covered it; and it is related of others of the country people, that they also took off their warm clothing, and put them on the unfortunate and nearly half-perished part of the crew that escaped. While there are so many to censure and condemn their crimes, let them, at least, have justice rendered to their good qualities. It is distressing to be obliged to add to this melancholy event, that, on Wednesday, a boat from Courtmasherry, belonging, we learn, to a person of the name of Kingston, in which were eight men, in endeavouring to save a piece of the wreck, was upset, and of the eight, seven were drowned."

The following particulars respecting the New York Packets, which afford such admirable facilities to persons who wish to cross the Atlantic, and which are so creditable to the enterprize and public spirit of those who originally established, and still conduct them, will, I am persuaded, be read with interest. These Packets have served to render a voyage across the Atlantic little more formidable than across the Irish Channel. As these vessels are owned in New York, by the term *outwards*, is intended the voyage from New York to Liverpool, and by the term *homewards*, the voyage from Liverpool to New York. The passages are reckoned from city to city—not from land to land:—

OLD LINE OF NEW YORK AND LIVERPOOL PACKETS.

1818.

NEW YORK TO LIVERPOOL.		LIVERPOOL TO NEW YORK.	
Average Passage of	Days.	Average Passage of	Days
Ship Amity, Stanton	22	Ship Amity, Stanton	39
Courier, Bowne	22	Courier, Bowne	44
Pacific, Williams	23	Pacific, Williams	46
Jas. Monroe, Watkinson,	27	Jas. Monroe, Watkinson,	46
Average outwards in 1818	23	Average homewards in 1818	44

1819.

NEW YORK TO LIVERPOOL.		LIVERPOOL TO NEW YORK.	
Average Passage of	Days.	Average Passage of	Days.
Ship Courier, Bowne	21	Ship Amity, Maxwell	28
Albion, Williams	22	Albion, Williams	35
Pacific, Rogers	25	Jas. Monroe, Watkinson,	38
Amity, Maxwell	28	Courier, Bowne	43
Jas. Monroe, Watkinson,	28	Pacific, Rogers	61
Average outwards in 1819	25	Average homewards in 1819	38

'*The* PACIFIC *made only one voyage in* 1819.

1820.

NEW YORK TO LIVERPOOL.		LIVERPOOL TO NEW YORK.	
Average Passage of	Days.	Average Passage of	Days.
Ship Nestor, Stanton	19	Ship Nestor, Stanton	29
Albion, Williams	21	Albion, Williams	32
Jas. Monroe, Watkinson,	21	Jas. Monroe, Watkinson,	36
Amity, Maxwell	24	Courier, Eldridge	39
Courier, Eldridge	26	Amity, Maxwell	44
Average outwards in 1820	22	Average homewards in 1820	37

The NESTOR *made only one voyage in* 1820.

1821.

NEW YORK TO LIVERPOOL.		LIVERPOOL TO NEW YORK.	
Average Passage of	Days.	Average Passage of	Days.
Ship James Monroe, Rogers	21	Ship James Monroe, Rogers	35
Albion, Williams	23	Albion, Williams	41
Amity, Maxwell	27	Nestor, Macy	41
Nestor, Macy	29	Amity, Maxwell	43
Average outwards in 1821	25	Average homewards in 1821	40

1822.

NEW YORK TO LIVERPOOL.		LIVERPOOL TO NEW YORK.	
Average Passage of	Days.	Average Passage of	Days.
Ship W. Thompson, Thompson,	19	Ship James Monroe, Marshall	31
Amity, Maxwell	21	James Cropper, Marshall,	35
Columbia, Rogers	21	New York, Maxwell	39
New York, Maxwell	22	Columbia, Rogers	40
James Cropper, Marshall	23	W. Thompson, Thompson,	41
James Monroe, Marshall	24	Nestor, Macy	50
Nestor, Macy	25	Amity, Maxwell	52
Orbit, Macy	33	Orbit, Macy	52
Average outwards in 1822	23	Average homewards in 1822	41

The ORBIT *made only one voyage in* 1822.

1823.

NEW YORK TO LIVERPOOL.		LIVERPOOL TO NEW YORK.	
Average Passage of	Days.	Average Passage of	Days.
Ship Canada, Macy	19	Ship Columbia, Rogers	32
New York, Maxwell	20	Amity, Maxwell	32
James Cropper, Marshall,	21	Canada, Macy	36
James Monroe, Marshall,	21	Nestor, Lee	37
Columbia, Rogers	22	James Cropper, Marshall,	39
Wm. Thompson, Crocker,	22	New York, Maxwell	40
Amity, Maxwell	24	Wm. Thompson, Crocker,	43
Nestor, Lee	25	Orbit, Tinckham	43
Orbit, Tinckham	33	James Monroe, Marshall,	43
Average outwards in 1823	23	Average homewards in 1823	39

The JAMES MONROE *made only one voyage in* 1823.

	Days.
Average of the whole outwards in 6 years	23
Do. do. homewards do.	40
Shortest passage outwards, by the ship New York, G. Maxwell, in December, 1823	15½
Longest passage outwards, by the ship Nestor, Macy, in December, 1820	37
Shortest passage homewards, by the ship Amity, G. Maxwell, in April, 1819	22
Longest passage homewards, by the ship Amity, S. Maxwell, in December, 1822	65
All the passages outwards of the Canada, have averaged	19
Do. do. do. New York	21
Do. do. do. Columbia	21
Do. do. do. Albion	22
Do. do. do. James Cropper	22
Do. do. do. William Thompson	22
Do. do. do. Courier	23
Do. do. do. Pacific	23
Do. do. do. Amity	24
Do. do. do. James Monroe	24
Do. do. do. Nestor	26
Do. do. do. Orbit	33

	Days.
All the passages homewards of the Albion, have averaged	36
Do. do. Canada	36
Do. do. Columbia	36
Do. do. James Cropper	37
Do. do. James Monroe	38
Do. do. Amity	39
Do. do. New York	40
Do. do. William Thompson	42
Do. do. Courier	42
Do. do. Nestor	43
Do. do. Orbit	46
Do. do. Pacific	50

THE PASSAGES IN THE DIFFERENT MONTHS, HAVE AVERAGED AS FOLLOWS:—

OUTWARDS.	Days.	HOMEWARDS.	Days.
In January	23	In January	44
February	24	February	49
March	21	March	37
April	24	April	31
May	23	May	36
June	25	June	39
July	23	July	40
August	21	August	37
September	25	September	34
October	24	October	39
November	21	November	37
December	26	December	48

THE SEPARATE PASSAGES WERE AS FOLLOWS:—

OUTWARDS.

Passages.	Days.	Passages.	Days.	Passages.	Days.	Passages.	Days.
1	of 15¾	13	of 21	11	of 26	2	of 33
2	of 17	11	of 22	3	of 27	1	of 34
4	of 18	9	of 23	3	of 28	1	of 35
9	of 19	3	of 24	1	of 29	1	of 36
8	of 20	7	of 25	2	of 32	1	of 37

HOMEWARDS.

Passages.	Days.	Passages.	Days.	Passages.	Days.	Passages.	Days.
1	of 22	2	of 33	4	of 42	1	of 52
2	of 23	7	of 34	4	of 43	1	of 53
1	of 25	2	of 35	2	of 44	1	of 54
3	of 27	2	of 36	3	of 45	1	of 55
1	of 28	7	of 37	2	of 46	1	of 56
5	of 29	3	of 38	4	of 48	1	of 57
1	of 30	6	of 39	1	of 49	1	of 59
3	of 31	6	of 40	1	of 50	2	of 61
3	of 32	5	of 41	2	of 51	1	of 65

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

GULF-STREAM.

"THE influence of the tropical wind is not confined to the air only. Blowing over a space of 3000 miles, this wind heaps up water in the Gulf of Mexico. To what height this kind of inundation raises the expanse of the Gulf above its natural level, we are furnished with no means of judging. The Spanish Government has sometimes thought of connecting the two seas by a canal, at Darien; but it has not caused the respective levels to be ascertained. I can, however, assert, that the level of this Gulf is several feet higher than that of the Gulf of Honduras and the Carribbean Sea, and still higher than that of the South Sea. It is obvious, however, that whatever be this height, the fluid must somewhere subside to the same level; but this cannot be by the reflux of the waters of the Gulf through the Channel of Yucatan and Cuba, because this is adverse to the current of air and water, which forms this very redundance. It must then relieve itself by issuing through the Channel of the Bahama Islands. After coasting the shores of Mexico, Louisiana,

and Florida, it turns the southern point of the peninsula, under shelter of Cuba, and the sand banks of Bahama, which ward off the refluence of the ocean on the East, and repel the trade-wind. The celerity of the Gulf-stream is a proof universally known of the height of the fountain, in the Gulf of Mexico. After passing through this channel into the ocean, its identity is still preserved by a course of four or five miles an hour, and likewise by its colour and temperature, which is from 10 to 22 degrees hotter than the contiguous water. This remarkable stream coasts the whole of the United States, varying in its breadth, which, at a medium, is 45 or 50 miles. Its force is not destroyed, nor its peculiar properties lost, till it reaches Newfoundland, where it diffuses itself suddenly in the direction of north-east.

"The Gulf-stream first attracted the attention of Sir Francis Drake, at the end of the sixteenth century, who conjectured its true cause; but its most remarkable property, the warmth of its temperature, escaped his notice. This was not observed till 1776, when Dr. Blagden, experimenting on the temperature of the ocean at different depths, was struck by this peculiarity. He found the thermometer in the latitude of 31° North, off Cape Fear, when plunged into the sea, stand at 72 degrees. Presently it rose to 78, and continued so many leagues, when it suddenly sunk again to 69 and 67. Here they approached the coast, the water became green, and they got soundings.

"This discovery attracted much attention in England, which was much augmented by the observations of Dr. Franklin, the next year, on his passage to Europe. Mr. Jonathan Williams, his companion on that voyage, pur-

sued this subject still further, and after repeated experiments, laid the foundation for the following conclusions:

"1. The Gulf-stream pursues a settled and distinct course from Florida to Newfoundland.

"2. It conforms to the direction of the American coast at a distance, varying with the state of the wind, but generally of 23 leagues.

"3. As it advances, its force lessens, and its breadth increases.

"4. It has hollowed out a very deep channel in the bed of the ocean, for in it you can reach no bottom with a very long line.

"5. It wears away the south-eastern shore of the United States, though opposed by the rocks of Hatteras, which turn it a point and a half towards the east, and which it will, at some future time, overwhelm and destroy. The sandy isles of Bahama, the banks along the American coast, and the shoals of Nantucket, appear to be merely heaped up by this current. I am, indeed, tempted to affirm, that the banks of Newfoundland merely constitute a bar at the mouth of this vast *shoreless* river.

"6. On each side, it forms eddies or counter-currents, which, aided by the depositions of the rivers, form the muddy stratum, or deposit, termed *soundings*.

"7. .....

"8. When the colour of the water changes from the sky-blue of the ocean, or the olive-green of *soundings*, into a deep indigo green, you are in the Gulf-stream. Examined in a glass, it is colourless as that of the sea between the tropics, and is more saline than the rest of the Atlantic.

" 9. A great plenty of floating weeds denotes your near approach to this current.

" 10. The incumbent air is warmer than in the neighbourhood. The ice, which may chance to cleave to a vessel on entering it, immediately melts. You find yourself drowsy, and the space between decks becomes unpleasantly hot. Some facts will give distinct ideas of this high temperature.

" In December, 1789, Mr. Jonathan Williams, sailed from the Chesapeake, noted that, in the waters of the sea, the mercury stood,

1. In soundings	47	deg.
2. Approaching the stream	60	„
3. In the stream	70	„
4. In the stream near Newfoundland	66	„
5. At Newfoundland out of the stream	54	„
6. Beyond the bank, in the open sea	60	„
7. Approaching the English coast	48	„
Captain Billing, on a voyage to Portugal, June, found near the American coast, and within soundings	61	„
In the Gulf-stream	77	„

Now there appears here a difference of 15 degrees according to Mr. Williams, who examined it in winter. The difference is equal to 10 degrees, so that the difference, as might be expected, is less in summer than in winter.

" These observations have led to another important discovery.

" After numerous trials, it is found that the temperature of the water varies with the depth, being colder as it is shallower. In July, 1791, Captain Billing likewise observed, that three days before he came in sight of

Portugal, the mercury sunk, in a few hours, from 65 to 60 degrees, and this variation coincided exactly with the line where the ocean became fathomable. Mr. Williams likewise observed, during another voyage in November, that on approaching the English coast the mercury fell from 53 to 48 degrees, and both these gentlemen remarked that the sudden sinking of the mercury indicates a shoal beneath. This effect arises from the bottom of the sea being colder than the water above it, or because evaporation, which always cools, has a more perceptible influence in shallow than in deep water."—*Volney.*

"From the bank of Newfoundland, or from the 52nd degree of longitude to the Azores, the *Gulf-stream* continues its course towards the east, and the east south-east. The waters still preserve a part of the impulsion they have received, near a thousand leagues distant, in the Straits of Florida, between the Isle of Cuba and the shores of Tortoise Island. This distance is double the length of the river of the Amazons, from Jaen, or the Straits of Manseriche to Grand-Para. On the meridian of the isles of Corvo and Flores, the most western of the group of the Azores, the breadth of the current is 160 leagues. When vessels, on their return from South America to Europe, endeavour to make these two islands to rectify their longitude, they constantly perceive the motion of the waters to the south-east. At the 33rd degree of latitude, the equinoctial current of the tropics is in the near vicinity of the *Gulf-stream.* In this part of the ocean, we may, in a single day, pass from waters that flow towards the west, into those which run to the south-east, or east south-east.

"From the Azores, the current of Florida turns towards the Straits of Gibraltar, the Isle of Madeira, and the group of the Canary Islands. The opening of the Pillars of Hercules has no doubt accelerated the motion of the waters towards the east. We may, in this point of view, assert that the strait by which the Mediterranean communicates with the Atlantic, produces its effects at a great distance; but it is probable also, that, without the existence of this strait, the vessels which sail to Teneriffe would be driven to the south-east by a cause which we must seek on the coasts of the New World. Every motion is the cause of another motion in the vast basin of the seas, as well as in the aerial ocean. Pursuing the currents to their most distant sources, and reflecting on their variable celerity, sometimes decreasing, as between the Gulf of Florida and the Bank of Newfoundland; at other times augmenting, as in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Gibraltar, and near the Canary Islands, we cannot doubt but the same cause which drives the waters to make the circuitous sweep of the Gulf of Mexico, agitates them also near the Isle of Madeira.

"It is to the south of the island that we can follow the current, in its direction to the south-east and south south-east towards the coast of Africa, between Cape Cantin and Cape Bojador. In these latitudes, a vessel is carried on the coast, at the time when it is thought at a great distance, if the reckoning be not corrected. Were the motion of the waters caused by the opening of the Straits of Gibraltar, why, on the south of these Straits, should it not follow an opposite direction?

"On the contrary, in the 25th and 26th degrees of latitude, the current flows at first directly to the south, and

then to the south-west, Cape Blanc, which, after Cape Verd, is the most salient promontory, seems to have an influence on this direction; and it is on this parallel that the waters, of which we have followed the course from the coast of Honduras to those of Africa, mix with the great current of the tropics, to begin their tour from east to west. We have already observed, that several hundred leagues to the west of the Canary Islands, the motion, which is peculiar to the equinoctial waters, is felt in the temperate zone, from the 28th and 29th degree of northern latitude; but on the meridian of the island of Ferro, the vessels reach the south, as far as the tropic of Cancer, before they find themselves, by their reckoning, to the east of their true position.

"I have indicated also the latitude, in which the motion of the waters is not constantly perceived; for in the same manner as the northern limit of the current of the tropics and that of the trade-winds, vary according to the seasons, the Gulf-stream also changes its place and direction. These changes become very perceptible from the 30th degree of latitude, as far as the great bank of Newfoundland, and are observed even between the 40th degree of longitude, west of Paris, and the meridian of the Azores.

"The variable winds of the temperate zone, and the melting of the ice of the northern pole, whence, in the months of July and August, a great quantity of fresh water flows towards the south, may be considered as the principal causes which modify, in these high latitudes, the force and direction of the Gulf-stream. A short time before my arrival at Teneriff, the sea had left in the road of St. Croix a trunk of a Cedrela odorata covered with bark. This American tree vegetates exclusively under

the tropics, or in the neighbouring regions. It had, no doubt, been torn up on the coast of the Continent, or of that of Honduras. The nature of the wood, and the lichens which covered its bark, were evident proofs that this trunk did not belong to these submarine forests, which ancient revolutions of the globe have deposited in lands transported from the polar regions. If the Cedrela, instead of having been thrown on the strand of Teneriff, had been carried further south, it would probably have made the whole tour of the Atlantic, and returned to its native soil with the general current of the tropics. This conjecture is supported by a fact of more ancient date, recorded in the general history of the Canaries, by the Abbe Viera. In 1770, a small vessel, laden with corn, and bound from the island of Lancerotte to Santa Cruz, in Teneriff, was driven to sea, while none of the crew were on board. The motion of the waters from east to west, carried it to America, where it went on shore at La Guayra, near Caraccas.

"Whilst the art of navigation was yet in its infancy, the Gulf-stream furnished the genius of Christopher Columbus, with certain indications of the existence of western regions. Two corpses, the features of which indicated a race of unknown men, were thrown on the coast of the Azores, towards the end of the fifteenth century. Nearly at the same period, the brother-in-law of Columbus, Pedro Correa, Governor of Porto Santo, found on the strand of this island, pieces of bamboo of an extraordinary size, brought thither by the western current. These corpses and the bamboos, attracted the attention of the Genoese navigator, who conjectured that both came from a continent situate towards the west; we

know, at present, that on the torrid zone, the trade-winds and the current of the tropics are in opposition to every motion of the waves, in the direction of the earth's rotation.

"The productions of the New World cannot reach the Old, but by the very high latitudes, and in following the direction of the current of Florida. The fruit of several trees of the Antilles, are often thrown on the isles of Ferro and Gomera. Before the discovery of America, the Canadians considered these fruits as coming from the Enchanted Isle of St. Borondon; which, according to the reveries of the pilots, and certain legends, was placed towards the west, in an unknown part of the ocean, buried, as was supposed, in eternal fogs.

"My chief view in tracing a sketch of the current of the Atlantic, is to prove, that the motion of the waters towards the south-east, from Cape St. Vincent to the Canary Islands, is the effect of the general motion which the surface of the ocean feels at its western extremity. We shall give but a very succinct account of the arm of the Gulf-stream, which, in the 45th and 50th deg. of lat. runs from the south-west to the north-east, towards the coasts of Europe. This partial current becomes very strong, when the winds have continued to blow a long time from the west; and like that which flows along the isles of Ferro and Gomera, deposits every year, on the western coasts of Ireland and Norway, the fruits of trees, which belong to the torrid zone of America. On the shores of the Hebrides, we collect seeds of *mimosa scandens*, of *dolichos urens*, of *guilandina bonduc*, and several other plants of Jamaica, the isle of Cuba, and of the

neighbouring continent. The current carries thither, also, barrels of French wine, well preserved, the remains of the cargoes of vessels wrecked on the West Indian seas. To these examples of the distant migration of the vegetable world, others, no less striking, may be added. The wreck of an English vessel, the Tilbury, burnt near Jamaica, was found on the coast of Scotland. On these same coasts, various kinds of tortoises are sometimes found, that inhabit the waters of the Antilles. When the western winds are of long duration, a current is formed in the high latitudes, which runs directly towards the east-south-east, from the coasts of Greenland and Labrador, as far as the north of Scotland. Wallace relates, that twice in 1682 and 1684, American savages, of the race of the Esquimaux, driven out to sea in their leathern canoes, during a storm, and left to the guidance of the currents, reached the Orcades. The last example is so much the more worthy of attention, as it proves, at the same time, how, at a period when the art of navigation was yet in its infancy, the motion of the waters of the ocean would contribute to disseminate the different races of men over the face of the globe."—*Humboldt's Travels.*

B.

COLLEGES.

"THERE are half a million of scholars at the public schools throughout the United States, and more than three thousand students at the colleges which confer degrees. There are twelve hundred students at the medical schools, five hundred at the theological seminaries, and more than a thousand students of law. There

are about ten thousand physicians, and upwards of six thousand lawyers. There are about nine thousand places of worship, and about five thousand clergymen. About four thousand and four hundred patents have been taken out for new and useful inventions, discoveries, and improvements in the arts. Between two and three millions of dollars worth of books are annually published in the United States. A thousand newspapers are published. There are more than one hundred steam-boats, comprising more than fourteen thousand tons, navigating the Mississippi. The vessels of the United States, by sea, perform their voyages, on an average, in one-third less time than the English. There are five thousand post-offices, and eighty thousand miles of post-roads, and twelve thousand miles of turnpike roads. There are three thousand legislators. There are two hundred printed volumes of law reports."—*Ingersall's Discourse.*

C.

"THE following particulars will show what proportion of our importation of Cotton, is received from the United States, as well as the rapid increase of the total importation of this important article into Great Britain:—

IMPORTATION OF COTTON INTO GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS:

From	1819.	1820.	1821.	1822.	1823.
N. America	204,831	301,928	301,795	329,163	449,255
S. America	125,230	179,673	121,085	144,140	148,475
E. Indies	185,121	57,909	30,471	18,656	38,417
W. Indies, &c.	30,603	32,221	38,296	41,637	32,537
Total import...	545,785	571,731	491,647	533,596	668,684

GENERAL IMPORTATION INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1813 TO 1823.

	Liverpool.	*London.*	*Glasgow.*	*Other Parts.*	*Totals.*
1813	141,300	69,500	31,700	7040	249,530
1814	182,600	77,300	26,400	1200	287,500
1815	270,400	68,400	29,800	450	369,000
1816	377,450	63,300	28,800	550	370,000
1817	314,181	118,500	43,600	730	477,011
1818	425,363	192,190	48,785	6700	673,038
1819	366,421	135,173	43,275	1026	545,895
1820	458,693	74,735	36,848	1380	571,656
1821	413,171	42,270	35,038	1093	491,572
1822	453,903	36,697	41,654	782	533,036
1823	578,395	53,987	36,046		668,428

D.

SOME PARTICULARS OF THE LOSS OF A NANTUCKET WHALE-SHIP.

"THE ship Essex, commanded by Captain George Polland, junior, was fitted out at Nantucket, and sailed on the 12th day of August, 1819, for the Pacific Ocean, on a whaling voyage. Of this ship I was first mate.—On the 20th November, (in lat. 0° 40′, S. long. 119° 0′, W.) I observed a very large spermaceti whale, as well as I could judge, about eighty-five feet in length; he broke water about twenty rods off our weather bow, and was lying quietly, with his head in a direction for the ship. He spouted two or three times, and then disappeared. In less than two or three seconds he came up again, about the length of the ship off, and made directly for us, at the rate of about three knots. The ship was then going with about the same velocity. His

appearance and attitude gave us at first no alarm; but while I stood watching his movements, and observing him but a ship's length off, coming down for us with great celerity, I involuntarily ordered the boy at the helm to put it hard up; intending to sheer off, and avoid him. The words were scarcely out of my mouth, before he came down upon us with full speed, and struck the ship with his head, just forward of the fore-chains; he gave us such an appalling and tremendous jar, as nearly threw us all on our faces. The ship brought up as suddenly and violently as if she had struck a rock, and trembled, for a few seconds, like a leaf. We looked at each other with perfect amazement, deprived almost of the power of speech. Many minutes elapsed before we were able to realize the dreadful accident; during which time, he passed under the ship, grazing her keel as he went along, came up alongside of her, to leeward, and lay on the top of the water, (apparently stunned with the violence of the blow,) for the space of a minute; he then suddenly started off, in a direction to leeward. After a few moments' reflection, and recovering, in some measure, from the sudden consternation that had seized us, I of course concluded that he had stove a hole in the ship, and that it would be necessary to set the pumps going. Accordingly they were rigged, but had not been in operation more than one minute, before I perceived the head of the ship to be gradually settling down in the water; I then ordered the signal to be set for the other boats, which scarcely had I despatched, before I again discovered the whale, apparently in convulsions, on the top of the water, about one hundred rods to leeward. He was enveloped in the foam of the sea,

that his continual and violent thrashing about in the water had created around him; and I could distinctly see him smite his jaws together, as if distracted with rage and fury. He remained a short time in this situation, and then started off with great velocity, across the bows of the ship, to windward. By this time, the ship had settled down a considerable distance in the water, and I gave her up as lost. I, however, ordered the pumps to be kept constantly going, and endeavoured to collect my thoughts for the occasion. I turned to the boats, two of which we then had with the ship, with an intention of clearing them away, and getting all things ready to embark in them, if there should be no other resource left; and while my attention was thus engaged for a moment, I was aroused with the cry of a man at the hatchway, 'Here he is; he is making for us again.' I turned round, and saw him about one hundred rods directly a-head of us, coming down, apparently, with twice his ordinary speed: and to me, at that moment, it appeared with tenfold fury and vengeance in his aspect. The surf flew in all directions about him, and his course towards us was marked by a white foam of a rod in width, which he made with the continual violent thrashing of his tail; his head was about half out of water, and in that way he came upon, and again struck the ship. I was in hopes, when I descried him making for us, that by a dexterous movement, of putting the ship away immediately, I should be able to cross the line of his approach, before he could get up to us, and thus avoid, what I knew, if he should strike us again, would prove our inevitable destruction. I bawled out to the helmsman, 'Hard up!' but she had not fallen off more

than a point, before we took the second shock. I should judge the speed of the ship to have been at this time, about three knots, and that of the whale about six. He struck her to windward, directly under the cat-head, and completely stove in her bows. He passed under the ship again, went off to leeward, and we saw no more of him. Our situation at this juncture, can be more readily imagined than described.—Not a moment, however, was to be lost, in endeavouring to provide for the extremity, to which it was now certain we were reduced. We were, more than a thousand miles from the nearest land, and with nothing but a light open boat, as the resource of safety for myself and companions. I ordered the men to cease pumping, and every one to provide for himself; seizing a hatchet at the same time, I cut away the lashings of the spare boat, which lay bottom up, across two spars, directly over the quarter deck, and cried out to those near me, to take her as she came down. They did so accordingly, and bore her on their shoulders, as far as the waist of the ship. The steward had, in the mean time, gone down into the cabin twice, and saved two quadrants, two practical navigators, and the captain's trunk and mine; all which were hastily thrown into the boat, as she lay on the deck, with the two compasses, which I snatched from the binnacle. He attempted to descend again; but the water by this time had rushed in, and he returned, without being able to effect his purpose. By the time we had got the boat to the waist, the ship had filled with water, and was going down on her beam-ends; we shoved our boat as quickly as possible from the plank-shear into the water, all hands jumping in her at the same time, and launched off clear of the ship.

We were scarcely two boats' lengths distant from her, when she fell over to windward, and settled down in the water.

"Amazement and despair now wholly took possession of us. We contemplated the frightful situation the ship lay in, and thought, with horror, upon the sudden and dreadful calamity that had overtaken us. We looked upon each other, as if to gather some consolatory sensation from an interchange of sentiments, but every countenance was marked with the paleness of despair. Not a word was spoken for several minutes by any of us; all appeared to be bound in a spell of stupid consternation; and from the time we were first attacked by the whale, to the period of the fall of the ship, and of our leaving her in the boat, more than ten minutes could not certainly have elapsed!"——

After spending two days in a state of dreadful despondency and indecision, and obtaining from the vessel, which was floating a wreck on the water, and would, in all probability, soon go to pieces, nautical instruments and provisions, they bade a melancholy adieu to her, casting many a lingering and sorrowful look behind. There were in all 20 men, six of whom were blacks; and they had three whale-boats, of all descriptions of boats, the weakest and most fragile, and possessing but one advantage, that of lightness and buoyancy—an inestimable advantage, however, in the present case. Nothing can be conceived more appalling than the situation of the crew. They were a thousand miles from the Marquesas, the nearest land; and destruction seemed inevitable, unless they should be picked up by some vessel. After balancing the various advantages and hazards of different

courses, the issue of their deliberations was, to shape their course by the wind to the southward, fall in with the variable winds, and then endeavour to get eastward to the coast of Chili or Peru. Their journal, from this time, (the 22nd Nov. to the 20th Dec.) cannot be read without the most intense interest—an interest equalled only, perhaps, by that excited by the perusal of the narrative of Captain Franklin, whose dangers and sufferings did not probably surpass those of our navigators. On the 20th December, Mr. Chase, the writer of the narrative, and the first mate of the vessel, observes, "This was a day of great happiness and joy. After having experienced one of the most distressing nights in the whole catalogue of our sufferings, we awoke to a morning of comparative luxury and pleasure. About seven o'clock, while we were sitting dispirited, silent, and dejected, in our boats, one of our companions suddenly and loudly called out, 'There is land!' We were all aroused in an instant, as if electrified, and casting our eyes to leeward, there, indeed, was the blessed vision before us, 'as plain and palpable' as could be wished for. A new and extraordinary impulse now took possession of us. We shook off the lethargy of our senses, and seemed to take another and a fresh existence. One or two of my companions, whose lagging spirits, and worn-out frames had begun to inspire them with an utter indifference to their fate, now immediately brightened up, and manifested a surprising alacrity and earnestness to gain, without delay, the much wished-for shore. It appeared at first a low, white, beach, and lay like a basking paradise before our longing eyes. It was discovered nearly at the same time by the other boats, and a general burst

of joy and congratulation now passed between us. It is not within the scope of human calculation, by a mere listener to the story, to divine what the feelings of our hearts were on this occasion. Alternate expectation, fear, gratitude, surprise, and exultation, each swayed our minds, and quickened our exertions. We ran down for it, and at eleven o'clock, A. M. we were within a quarter of a mile of the shore. It was an island, to all appearance, as nearly as we could determine it, about six miles long, and three broad; with a very high, rugged shore, and surrounded by rocks; the sides of the mountains were bare, but on the tops it looked fresh and green with vegetation. Upon examining our navigators, we found it was Ducie's Island, lying in latitude 24° 40' S. longitude 124° 40' W. A short moment sufficed for reflection, and we made immediate arrangements to land. None of us knew whether the island was inhabited or not, nor what it afforded, if any thing; if inhabited, it was uncertain whether by beasts or savages; and a momentary suspense was created, by the dangers which might possibly arise by proceeding without due preparation and care. Hunger and thirst, however, soon determined us, and having taken the musket and pistols, I, with three others, effected a landing upon some sunken rocks, and waded thence to the shore. Upon arriving at the beach, it was necessary to take a little breath, and we laid down for a few minutes to rest our weak bodies, before we could proceed. Let the reader judge, if he can, what must have been our feelings now! Bereft of all comfortable hopes of life, for the space of thirty days of terrible suffering; our bodies wasted to mere skeletons, by hunger and thirst, and death itself staring us in the face; to be

suddenly and unexpectedly conducted to a rich banquet of food and drink, which, subsequently, we enjoyed for a few days, to our full satisfaction; and he will have but a faint idea of the happiness that here fell to our lot. We now, after a few minutes, separated, and went different directions in search of water; the want of which had been our principal privation, and called for immediate relief. I had not proceeded far in my excursion, before I discovered a fish, about a foot and a half in length, swimming along in the water, close to the shore. I commenced an attack upon him with the breach of my gun, and struck him, I believe, once, and he ran under a small rock, that lay near the shore, from whence I took him, with the aid of my ramrod, and brought him upon the beach, and immediately fell to eating. My companions soon joined in the repast, and in less than ten minutes, the whole was consumed, bones, and skin, and scales, and all. With full stomachs, we imagined we could now attempt the mountains, where, if in any part of the island, we considered water would be most probably obtained. I accordingly clambered, with excessive labour, suffering, and pain, up amongst the bushes, roots, and underwood, of one of the crags, looking in all directions in vain, for every appearance of water that might present itself. There was no indication of the least moisture to be found, within the distance to which I had ascended, although my strength did not enable me to get higher than about twenty feet. I was sitting down at the height that I had attained, to gather a little breath, and ruminating upon the fruitlessness of my search, and the consequent evils and continuation of suffering that it necessarily implied, when I perceived

that the tide had risen considerably since our landing, and threatened to cut off our retreat to the rocks, by which alone we should be able to regain our boats. I, therefore, determined to proceed again to the shore, and inform the captain and the rest, of our want of success in procuring water, and consult upon the propriety of remaining at the island any longer. I never, for one moment, lost sight of the main chance, which, I conceived, we still had, of either getting to the coast, or of meeting with some vessel at sea; and felt, that every minute's detention, without some equivalent object, was lessening those chances, by a consumption of the means of our support. When I had got down, one of my companions informed me, that he had found a place in a rock, some distance off, from which the water exuded in small drops, at intervals of about five minutes; that he had, by applying his lips to the rock, obtained a few of them, which only served to whet his appetite, and from which nothing like the least satisfaction had proceeded. I immediately resolved, in my own mind, upon this information, to advise remaining until morning, to endeavour to make a more thorough search the next day; and, with our hatchets, to pick away the rock which had been discovered, with the view of increasing, if possible, the run of the water. We all repaired again to our boats, and there found, that the captain had the same impressions, as to the propriety of our delay until morning. We therefore landed; and having hauled our boats up on the beach, laid down in them that night, free from all the anxieties of watching and labour, and amid all our sufferings, gave ourselves up to an unreserved forgetfulness and peace of mind, that seemed so well to accord with

the pleasing anticipations that this day had brought forth. It was but a short space, however, until the morning broke upon us; and sense, and feeling, and gnawing hunger, and the raging fever of thirst, then redoubled my wishes and efforts to explore the island again. We had obtained, that night, a few crabs, by traversing the shore a considerable distance, and a few very small fish; but waited until the next day, for the labours of which, we considered a night of refreshing and undisturbed repose would better qualify us.

December 21st.—We had still reserved our common allowance, but it was entirely inadequate for the purpose of supplying the raging demands of the palate; and such an excessive and cruel thirst was created, as almost to deprive us of the power of speech. The lips became cracked and swollen, and a sort of glutinous saliva collected in the mouth, disagreeable to the taste, and intolerable beyond expression. Our bodies had wasted away, to almost skin and bone, and possessed so little strength, as often to require each other's assistance in performing some of its weakest functions. Relief, we now felt, must come soon, or nature would sink. The most perfect discipline was still maintained, in respect to our provisions; and it now became our whole object, if we should not be able to replenish our subsistence from the island, to obtain, by some means or other, a sufficient refreshment to enable us to prosecute our voyage.

Our search for water accordingly again commenced with the morning; each of us took a different direction, and prosecuted the examination of every place where there was the least indication of it; the small

leaves of the shrubbery, affording a temporary alleviation, by being chewed in the mouth, and but for the peculiarly bitter taste which those of the island possessed, would have been an extremely grateful substitute. In the course of our rambles, too, along the sides of the mountain, we would now and then meet with tropic birds, of a beautiful figure and plumage, occupying small holes in the sides of it, from which we plucked them without the least difficulty. Upon our approaching them, they made no attempts to fly, nor did they appear to notice us at all. These birds served us for a fine repast; numbers of which were caught in the course of the day, cooked by fires which we made on the shore, and eaten with the utmost avidity. We found, also, a plant, in taste not unlike the pepper-grass, growing in considerable abundance in the crevices of the rocks, and which proved to us a very agreeable food, by being chewed with the meat of the birds. These, with birds' nests, some of them full of young, and others of eggs, a few of which we found in the course of the day, served us for food, and supplied the place of our bread; from the use of which, during our stay here, we had restricted ourselves. But water, the great object of all our anxieties and exertions, was no where to be found, and we began to despair of meeting with it on the island. Our state of extreme weakness, and many of us without shoes or any covering for the feet, prevented us from exploring any great distance; lest by some sudden faintness, or overexertion, we should not be able to return, and at night be exposed to attacks of wild beasts, which might inhabit the island, and be alike incapable of resistance, as beyond the reach of the feeble assistance that otherwise could be

afforded to each. The whole day was thus consumed in picking up whatever had the least shape or quality of sustenance, and another night of misery was before us, to be passed without a drop of water to cool our parching tongues. In this state of affairs, we could not reconcile it to ourselves to remain longer at this place; a day, an hour, lost to us unnecessarily here, might cost us our preservation. A drop of the water we then had in our possession, might prove, in the last stages of our debility, the very cordial of life. I addressed the substance of these few reflections to the captain, who agreed with me in opinion, upon the necessity of taking some decisive steps in our present dilemma. After some considerable conversation on this subject, it was finally concluded, to spend the succeeding day in the further search for water, and if none should be found, to quit the island the morning after.

December 22nd.—We had been employed during the last night, in various occupations, according to the feelings or the wants of the men; some continued to wander about the shore, and to short distances in the mountains, still seeking for food and water; others hung about the beach, near the edge of the sea, endeavouring to take the little fish that came about them. Some slept, insensible to every feeling but rest; while others spent the night in talking of their situation, and reasoning upon the probabilities of their deliverance. The dawn of day aroused us again to labour, and each of us pursued his own inclination, as to the course taken over the island after water. My principal hope was founded upon my success in picking the rocks where the moisture had been discovered the day before, and thither I hastened, as

soon as my strength would enable me to get there. It was about a quarter of a mile from what I may call our encampment; and with two men, who had accompanied me, I commenced my labours with a hatchet and an old chisel. The rock proved to be soft, and in a very short time I had obtained a very considerable hole, but, alas! without the least wished for effect. I watched it for some little time, with great anxiety, hoping, that as I increased the depth of the hole, the water would presently flow; but all my hopes and efforts were unavailing, and at last I desisted from further labour, and sat down, nearly in utter despair. As I turned my eyes towards the beach, I saw some of the men in the act of carrying a keg along from the boats, with, I thought, an extraordinary spirit and activity; and the idea suddenly darted across my mind, that they had found water, and were taking a keg to fill it. I quitted my seat in a moment, made the best of my way towards them, with a palpitating heart, and before I came up with them, they gave me the cheering news, that they had found a spring of water. I felt, at that moment, as if I could have fallen down and thanked God for this signal act of his mercy. The sensation that I experienced, was, indeed, strange, and such as I shall never forget. At one instant I felt an almost choking excess of joy; and at the next, I wanted the relief of a flood of tears. When I arrived at the spot, whither I had hastened as fast as my weak legs would carry me, I found my companions had all taken their fill; and, with an extreme degree of forbearance, I then satisfied myself, by drinking in small quantities, and at intervals of two or three minutes apart. Many had, notwithstanding the remon-

strances of prudence, and, in some cases, force, laid down, and thoughtlessly swallowed large quantities of it, until they could drink no more. The effect of this was, however, neither so sudden nor so bad as we had imagined; it only served to make them a little stupid and indolent for the remainder of the day.

"December 23d.—We procured our water daily, when the tide would leave the shore; but on the evening of the 25th, found, that a fruitless search for nourishment, had not repaid us for the labours of a whole day. There was no one thing on the island upon which we could in the least degree rely, except the pepper-grass, and of that the supply was precarious, and not much relished without some other food. Our situation here, therefore, now became worse than it would have been in our boats on the ocean; because, in the latter case, we should be still making some progress towards the land, while our provisions lasted, and the chance of falling in with some vessel be considerably increased. It was certain, that we ought not to remain here, unless upon the strongest assurances, in our own minds, of sufficient sustenance, and that, too, in regular supplies, that might be depended upon. After much conversation amongst us on this subject, and again examining our navigators, it was finally concluded, to set sail for Easter Island, which we found to be E.S.E. from us, in lat. 27° 9' S.. long. 109° 34' W. All we knew of this island, was, that it existed as laid down in the books; but of its extent, productions, or inhabitants, if any, we were entirely ignorant; at any rate, it was nearer, by 850 miles to the coast, and could not be worse in its productions, than the one we were about leaving.

"The 26th December was wholly employed in preparations for our departure; our boats were hauled down to the vicinity of the spring, and our casks, and every thing else that would contain it, filled with water."

Three of the men determined to remain behind, and before the rest of the party sailed, "the captain wrote letters, to be left on the island, giving information of the fate of the ship, and that of our own; and stating, that we had set out to reach Easter Island, with further particulars, intended to give notice (should our fellow-sufferers die there, and the place be ever visited by any vessel,) of our misfortunes. These letters were put in a tin case, enclosed in a small wooden box, and nailed to a tree, on the west side of the island, near our landing-place. We had observed, some days previously, the name of a ship, 'The Elizabeth,' cut out in the bark of this tree, which rendered it indubitable, that one of that name had once touched here. There was, however, no date to it, or any thing else, by which any further particulars could be made out."

On the 27th December they set sail. "On the 12th January," the narrator observes, "when the morning dawned, in vain did we look over every part of the ocean for our companions; they were gone! and we saw no more of them afterwards. It was [illegible]y to repine at the circumstance; it could neither be remedied, nor could sorrow secure their return; but it was impossible to prevent ourselves feeling all the poignancy and bitterness that characterizes the separation of men who have long suffered in each other's company, and whose interests and feelings fate had so closely linked together. By our observation, we separated in lat. 32° 16', S. long. 112° 20'

W. For many days after this accident, our progress was attended with dull and melancholy reflections. We had lost the cheering of each other's faces, that, which strange as it is, we so much required in both our mental and bodily distresses. The 14th January proved another very squally and rainy day. We had now been nineteen days from the island, and had only made a distance of about 900 miles; necessity began to whisper us, that a still further reduction of our allowance must take place, or we must abandon altogether the hopes of reaching the land, and rely wholly on the chance of being taken up by a vessel. But how to reduce the daily quantity of food, with any regard to life itself, was a question of the utmost consequence. Upon our first leaving the wreck, the demands of the stomach had been circumscribed to the smallest possible compass; and subsequently, before reaching the island, a diminution had taken place, of nearly one-half; and it was now, from a reasonable calculation, become necessary even to curtail that at least one-half; which must, in a short time, reduce us to mere skeletons again. We had a full allowance of water, but it only served to contribute to our debility; our bodies deriving but the scanty support which an ounce and a half of bread for each man afforded. It required a great effort to bring matters to this dreadful alternative, either to feed our bodies and our hopes a little longer, or in the agonies of hunger, to seize upon and devour our provisions, and coolly await the approach of death.

"We were, as yet, just able to move about in our boats, and slowly perform the necessary labours appertaining to her; but we were fast wasting away with the

relaxing effects of the water, and we daily almost perished under the torrid rays of a meridian sun; to escape which, we would lie down in the bottom of the boat, cover ourselves over with the sails, and abandon her to the mercy of the waves. Upon attempting to rise again, the blood would rush into the head, and an intoxicating blindness come over us, almost to occasion our suddenly falling down again. A slight interest was still kept up in our minds, by the distant hopes of yet meeting with the other boats, but it was never realized."

Before the 20th, they had lost two of their number. "On that day," Mr. Chase observes, "when I perceived this morning, that it was calm, my fortitude almost forsook me. I thought, to suffer another scorching day, like the last we had experienced, would close, before night, the scene of our miseries; and I felt many a despairing moment that day, that had well nigh proved fatal. It required an effort to look calmly forward, and contemplate what was yet in store for us, beyond what I felt I was capable of making; and what it was that buoyed me above all the terrors which surrounded us, God alone knows. Our ounce and a half of bread, which was to serve us all day, was, in some cases, greedily devoured, as if life was to continue but another moment; and at other times, it was hoarded up, and eaten crumb by crumb, at regular intervals during the day, as if it was to last us for ever. To add to our calamities, biles began to break out upon us, and our imaginations shortly became as diseased as our bodies. I laid down at night, to catch a few moments of oblivious sleep, and immediately my starving fancy was at work. I dreamt of being placed near a splendid and rich repast,

where there was every thing that the most dainty appetite could desire; and of contemplating the moment in which we were to commence to eat, with enraptured feelings of delight; and just as I was about to partake of it, I suddenly awoke to the cold realities of my miserable situation. Nothing could have oppressed me so much. It set such a longing frenzy for victuals in my mind, that I felt as if I could have wished the dream to continue for ever, that I never might have awoke from it. I cast a sort of vacant stare about the boat, until my eyes rested upon a bit of tough cow hide, which was fastened to one of the oars; I eagerly seized and commenced to chew it, but there was no substance in it, and it only served to fatigue my weak jaws, and add to my bodily pains."

The 29th and 30th of January, the wind continued west, and we made considerable progress until the 31st, when it again came a-head, and prostrated all our hopes. On the 1st of February, it changed again to the westward, and on the 2nd and 3d blew to the eastward; and we had it light and variable until the 8th of February. Our sufferings were now drawing to a close; a terrible death appeared shortly to await us; hunger became violent and outrageous, and we prepared for a speedy release from our troubles; our speech and reason were both considerably impaired, and we were reduced to be, at this time, certainly the most helpless and wretched of the whole human race. Isaac Cole, one of our crew, had, the day before this, in a fit of despair, thrown himself down in the boat, and was determined there calmly to wait for death. It was obvious that he had no chance; all was dark, he said, in his mind, not a single ray of

hope was left for him to dwell upon; and it was folly and madness to be struggling against what appeared so palpably to be our fixed and settled destiny. I remonstrated with him as effectually as the weakness both of my body and understanding would allow of; and what I said, appeared for a moment to have a considerable effect. He made a powerful and sudden effort, half rose up, crawled forward, and hoisted the jib, and firmly and loudly cried that he would not give up; that he would live as long as the rest of us—but, alas! this effort was but the hectic fever of the moment, and he shortly again relapsed into a state of melancholy and despair. This day his reason was attacked, and he became, about nine o'clock in the morning, a most miserable spectacle of madness: he spoke incoherently about every thing, calling loudly for a napkin and water, and then lying stupidly and senselessly down in the boat again, would close his hollow eyes, as if in death. About ten o'clock, we suddenly perceived that he became speechless; we got him, as well as we were able, upon a board, placed on one of the seats of the boat, and covering him up with some old clothes, left him to his fate. He lay in the greatest pain and apparent misery, groaning piteously until four o'clock, when he died, in the most horrid and frightful convulsions I ever witnessed. We kept his corpse all night; and in the morning my two companions began, as of course, to make preparations to dispose of it in the sea; when, after reflecting on the subject all night, I addressed them on the painful subject of keeping the body for food!! Our provisions could not possibly last us beyond three days, within which time, it was not, in any degree, probable that we should find relief from our

present sufferings, and that hunger would, at last, drive us to the necessity of casting lots. It was, without any objection, agreed to; and we set to work, as fast as we were able, to prepare it, so as to prevent its spoiling. We separated his limbs from his body, and cut all the flesh from the bones; after which, we opened the body, took out the heart, and then closed it again—sewed it up as decently as we could, and committed it to the sea. We now first commenced to satisfy the immediate cravings of nature from the heart, which we eagerly devoured, and then eat sparingly of a few pieces of the flesh; after which, we hung up the remainder, cut in thin strips about the boat, to dry in the sun. We made a fire, and roasted some of it, to serve us during the next day. In this manner did we dispose of our fellow-sufferer; the painful recollection of which, brings to mind at this moment, some of the most disagreeable and revolting ideas that it is capable of conceiving. We knew not then, to whose lot it would fall next, either to die or be shot, and eaten like the poor wretch we had just dispatched. Humanity must shudder at the dreadful recital. I have no language to paint the anguish of our souls in this dreadful dilemma. The next morning, the 10th of February, we found that the flesh had become tainted, and had turned of a greenish colour, upon which we concluded to make a fire and cook it at once, to prevent its becoming so putrid as not to be eaten at all. We accordingly did so, and by that means preserved it for six or seven days longer; our bread, during the time, remained untouched; as that would not be liable to spoil, we placed it carefully aside for the last moments of our trial. About three o'clock this afternoon, a strong breeze

set in from the north-west, and we made very good progress, considering that we were compelled to steer the boat by management of the sails alone: this wind continued until the 13th, when it changed again a-head. We contrived to keep soul and body together by sparingly partaking of our flesh, cut up in small pieces, and eaten with salt water. By the 14th, our bodies became so far recruited, as to enable us to make a few attempts at guiding our boat again with the oar; by each taking his turn, we managed to effect it, and to make a tolerable good course. " On the 15th, our flesh was all consumed, and we were driven to the last morsel of bread, consisting of two cakes; our limbs had for the last two days swelled very much, and now began to pain us most excessively. We were still, as near as we could judge, 300 miles from the land, and but three days of our allowance on hand. The hope of a continuation of the wind, which came out at west this morning, was the only comfort and solace that remained to us: so strong had our desires at last reached in this respect, that a high fever had set in, in our veins, and a longing that nothing but its continuation could satisfy. Matters were now with us at their height; all hope was cast upon the breeze; and we tremblingly and fearfully awaited its progress, and the dreadful development of our destiny. On the 16th, at night, full of the horrible reflections of our situation, and panting with weakness, I laid down to sleep, almost indifferent whether I should ever see the light again. I had not lain long, before I dreamt I saw a ship at some distance off from us, and strained every nerve to get to her, but could not. I awoke, almost overpowered with the frenzy I had caught in my slumbers, and stung with

the cruelties of a diseased and disappointed imagination. On the 17th, in the afternoon, a heavy cloud appeared to be settling down in an east by north direction from us, which, in my view, indicated the vicinity of some land, which I took for the island of Massafuera. I concluded it could be no other; and immediately, upon this reflection, the life-blood began to flow again briskly in my veins. I told my companions that I was well convinced it was land, and if so, in all probability we should reach it before two days more. My words appeared to comfort them much; and by repeated assurances of the favourable appearance of things, their spirits acquired even a degree of elasticity that was truly astonishing. The dark features of our distress began now to diminish a little, and the countenance, even amid the gloomy bodings of our hard lot, to assume a much fresher hue. We directed our course for the cloud, and our progress that night was extremely good.

"At about seven o'clock the next morning, while I was lying asleep, my companion, who was steering, suddenly and loudly called out, "There's a sail!" I know not what was the first movement I made, upon hearing such an unexpected cry: the earliest of my recollections are, that immediately I stood up, gazing in a state of abstraction and ecstacy, upon the blessed vision of a vessel about seven miles off from us; she was standing in the same direction with us, and the only sensation I felt at the moment was, that of a violent and unaccountable impulse to fly directly towards her. I do not believe it is possible to form a just conception of the pure, strong feelings, and the unmingled emotions of joy and gratitude, that took possession of my mind on this occasion.—Upon

observing us, she shortened sail, and allowed us to come up to her. The captain hailed us, and asked who we were. I told him we were from a wreck, and he cried out immediately for us to come alongside the ship. I made an effort to assist myself along to the side, for the purpose of getting up; but strength failed me altogether, and I found it impossible to move a step further without help. We must have formed at that moment, in the eyes of the captain and his crew, a most deplorable and affecting picture of suffering and misery. Our cadaverous countenances, sunken eyes, and bones just starting through the skin, with the ragged remnants of clothes stuck about our sun-burnt bodies, must have produced an appearance to him affecting and revolting in the highest degree. The sailors commenced to remove us from our boat, and we were taken to the cabin, and comfortably provided for in every respect. In a few minutes we were permitted to taste of a little thin food, made from tapioca, and in a few days, with prudent management, we were considerably recruited. This vessel proved to be the brig Indian, Captain William Crozier, of London; to whom we are indebted for every polite, friendly, and attentive disposition towards us, that can possibly characterize a man of humanity and feeling. We were taken up in latitude 33° 45′ S.; longitude 81° 03′ W. At twelve o'clock this day we saw the island of Massafuera, and on the 25th of February, we arrived at Valparaiso in utter distress and poverty. Our wants were promptly relieved there.

"The Captain and the survivors of his boat's crew were taken up by the American whale-ship, the Dauphin, Captain Zimri Coffin, of Nantucket, and arrived at

Valparaiso on the 17th of March following. He was taken up in latitude 37° S. off the island of St. Mary. The third boat got separated from him on the 28th of January, and has not been heard of since.——

"The Captain relates, that after being separated, as herein-before stated, they continued to make what progress they could towards the island of Juan Fernandez, as was agreed upon; but contrary winds, and the extreme debility of the crew, prevailed against their united exertions. He was, with us, equally surprised and concerned at the separation that took place between us; but continued on his course, almost confident of meeting with us again. On the 14th, the whole stock of provisions, belonging to the second mate's boat, was entirely exhausted; and on the 25th, the black man, Lawson Thomas, died, and was eaten by his surviving companions. On the 21st, the captain and his crew were in the like dreadful situation with respect to their provisions; and on the 23d, another coloured man, Charles Shorter, died out of the same boat, and his body was shared for food between the crews of both boats. On the 27th, another, Isaac Shepherd, (a black man,) died in the third boat; and on the 28th, another black, named Samuel Reed, died out of the captain's boat. The bodies of these men constituted their only food while it lasted; and on the 29th, owing to the darkness of the night, and want of sufficient power to manage their boats, those of the captain and second mate separated, in latitude 35° S. longitude 100° W. On the 1st of February, having consumed the last morsel, the captain and the three other men that remained with him, were reduced to the necessity of casting lots. It fell

upon Owen Coffin to die, who, with great fortitude and resignation, submitted to his fate. They drew lots to see who should shoot him. He placed himself firmly to receive his death, and was immediately shot by Charles Ramsdale, whose hard fortune it was to become his executioner. On the 11th, Brazilla Ray died; and on these two bodies, the captain and Charles Ramsdale, the only two that were then left, subsisted until the morning of the 23d, when they fell in with the ship Dauphin, as before stated, and were snatched from impending destruction. Every assistance and attentive humanity was bestowed upon them by Captain Coffin, to whom Captain Pollard acknowledged every grateful obligation. Upon making known the fact, that three of our companions had been left at Ducies Island, to the Captain of the United States frigate Constellation, which lay at Valparaiso when we arrived, he said he should immediately take measures to have them taken off.

"On the 11th June following, I arrived at Nantucket in the whale-ship the Eagle, Captain William H. Coffin. My family had received the most distressing account of our shipwreck, and had given me up for lost. My unexpected appearance was welcomed with the most grateful obligations and acknowledgments to a beneficent Creator, who had guided me through darkness, trouble, and death, once more to the bosom of my country and friends."

The preceding account is extracted from a little narrative, entitled "Narrative of the most extraordinary and distressing shipwreck of the whale-ship, Essex, of Nantucket; which was attacked and finally destroyed by a large spermaceti whale, in the Pacific Ocean; with an account of the unparalleled sufferings of the captain and

crew, during a space of ninety-three days at sea, in open boats, in the years 1819 and 1820.—By Owen Chase, of Nantucket, first-mate of said vessel."

The accuracy of the narrative, I have reason to believe to be unquestionable. The father of one of the sufferers who died, was engaged to dine with me when the account reached Liverpool, and was prevented by the melancholy intelligence.

E

A very interesting life of Brainerd was published in 1822, at Newhaven, in Connecticut, by Sereno Edward Dwight.

F

EXTRACTS from a REPORT concerning INDIAN AFFAIRS, addressed to the American Secretary of War, by Dr. Morse, and laid before Congress.

(CIRCULAR.)

"Sir,

Department of War, 3d September, 1819.

"In order to render the sum of ten thousand dollars, annually appropriated at the last session of Congress for the civilization of the Indians, as extensively beneficial as possible, the President is of opinion, that it ought to be applied in co-operation with the exertions of benevolent associations, or individuals, who may choose to devote their time or means to effect the object contemplated by the Act of Congress. But it will be indispensable, in order to apply any portion of the sum appropriated in

the manner proposed, that the plan of education, in addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic, should, in the instruction of the boys, extend to the practical knowledge of the mode of agriculture, and of such of the mechanic arts as are suited to the condition of the Indians; and in that of the girls, to spinning, weaving, and sewing. It is also indispensable, that the establishment should be fixed within the limits of those Indian nations who border on our settlements. Such associations, or individuals, who are already actually engaged in educating the Indians, and who may desire the co-operation of the Government, will report to the Department of War, to be laid before the President, the location of the institutions under their superintendence; their funds; the number and kind of teachers; the number of youths, of both sexes; the objects which are actually embraced in their plan of education; and the extent of the aid which they require; and such institutions as are formed, but have not gone into actual operation, will report the extent of their funds; the places at which they intend to make their establishments; the whole number of youths, of both sexes, which they intend to educate; the number and kind of teachers to be employed; the plan of education adopted; and the extent of the aid required.

"This information will be necessary, to enable the President to determine whether the appropriation of Congress ought to be applied in co-operation with the institutions which may request it, and to make a just distribution of the sum appropriated.

"In proportion to the means of the Government, co-operation will be extended to such institutions as may

be approved, as well in erecting necessary buildings, as in their current expenses.—I have the honour to be,

"Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) "J. C. CALHOUN."

"The following regulations, in addition to those prescribed in the Circular of the 3d of September, 1819, have been adopted, with the approbation of the President of the United States, to govern the future distribution of the sum appropriated by Congress for the civilization of the Indians, among individuals or societies who have established, or contemplate establishing, schools for the education of Indian children, in conformity to the above-mentioned Circular, and who desire the co-operation of the Government.

"The position selected for the establishment, a plan of the buildings contemplated, with an estimate of the costs, to be submitted to the Secretary of War, to be laid before the President.

"Government will, if it has the means, and approves of the arrangement, pay two-thirds of the expense of erecting the necessary buildings.

"No part of the money to be advanced until after the buildings are commenced; and one-fourth to be reserved until they are completed. The payment to be made on the certificate of the Agent of Indian affairs, for the tribe or nation in which the establishment is located, as to the facts of the commencement and completion of the buildings.

"The President of the United States will contribute out of the annual appropriation, to each institution which may be approved of by him, a sum proportionate to the number of pupils belonging to each, regard being had to the necessary expense of the establishment, and the degree of success which has attended it.

"No advance to be made except for the buildings, till the school is in actual operation; of which fact, and the number of pupils belonging to it, the certificate of the superintendent or person having the chief control of the institution, will be sufficient evidence.

"A report will be annually made for each establishment, on the 1st of October, of the number and names of the teachers and other persons belonging to it; the number of students; the number which have completed their course and left the institution, since the first day of October of the preceding year; the number entered, the amount of disbursements for the same period, and the value and description of property on hand: which report will be certified by the superintendent or person having the principal control of the establishment.

"It is considered to be the duty of all persons who may be employed, or attached to any institution, not only to set a good example of sobriety, industry, and honesty, but, as far as practicable, to impress on the minds of the Indians, the friendly and benevolent views of the Government towards them, and the advantage to them in yielding to the policy of Government, and co-operating with it in such measures as it may deem necessary for their civilization and happiness. A contrary course of conduct cannot fail to incur the displeasure of Government, as it is impossible that the object which

it has in view can be effected, and peace be habitually preserved, if the distrust of the Indians, as to its benevolent views, should be excited.

(Signed) "J. C. CALHOUN."

Department of War, 29th Feb. 1820.

"SIR,

"Department of War, 7th Feb. 1820.

"I have laid before the President your proposition, to make a visit of observation and inspection to the various Indian Tribes in our immediate neighbourhood, in order to acquire a more accurate knowledge of their actual condition, and to devise the most suitable plan to advance their civilization and happiness. The President approves of the proposed arrangement, and has directed me to allow you the sum of 500 dollars towards the expense of your contemplated journey; and he further authorizes me to state to you, that should your actual expense exceed that sum, that the excess will be allowed you, provided the state of the appropriation for the Indian Department will, at the end of the year, justify the allowance.

"It is desirable that you should make your visit to the Northern Tribes the next spring and summer, and to the Southern, the next autumn and winter, as it is the wish of the Department to have your report as early as practicable, in order to avail itself of it in the future application of the fund for the civilization of the Indians.

"I inclose a general letter of introduction to the superintendents and agents for Indian affairs, with a list of their names and residences, who will afford you all the information and facilities in their power.

"Your attention will be directed to ascertain the actual condition of the various tribes, which you may visit, in a religious, moral, and political point of view, and your report to the Department, which you will make at such times as will be convenient, will comprehend all such facts, with your reflections on them, as will go to illustrate this interesting subject. You will particularly ascertain, as far as practicable, the number of the various tribes which you may visit, and those adjacent; the extent of territory, with the nature of the soil, and climate of the country occupied by them; their mode of life, customs, laws, and political institutions; and the character and disposition of their most influential men. You will also particularly report on the number of schools, their position, the number and character of the teachers, the number of scholars of each sex, the plan of education, with the degree of success which appears to attend the respective schools, and the disposition which appears to exist in the tribes, and with their chief men, to promote among them education and civilization. You will also report your opinion as to the improvements which may be made, and the new establishments, to promote the object of the Government in civilizing the Indians, which can be advantageously formed.

"The moral condition of the Indians will necessarily be very dependant on the character of the trade with them, and a subject so important will, of course, claim your attention. You will report such facts, as may come within your knowledge, as will go to show the state of the trade with them, and the character of the traders, and will suggest such improvements in the present system of Indian trade, as, in your opinion, will render it better

calculated to secure peace between them and us, and will contribute more efficiently to advance their moral condition.

"You are so fully apprized of the views of the President in your intended visit to the Indian Tribes, that a farther enumeration of the objects, which are thought interesting, is deemed unnecessary; satisfied, as I am, that your zeal and intelligence will permit nothing to escape your observation, which may be useful to be known to the Government.

"After you have collected your materials, you will digest the whole into one body, and present it in such form, and accompany it with such reflections and suggestions, as you may deem necessary to accomplish the interesting objects, which it is intended to promote by your tour.—I have the honour to be,

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed) "J. C. CALHOUN."

Rev. J. Morse, D.D. now in Washington.

NUMBER OF INDIANS WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Indians in New England	2,247
New York	5,184
Ohio	2,407
Michigan and N. W. Territories.	28,380
Illinois and Indiana	17,006
Southern States East of the Mississippi	65,122
West of Mississippi and North of Missouri	33,150
Between Missouri and Red River	101,070
West of the Rocky Mountains	171,200
Between Red River and Rio del Norte	45,370
	470,000

REMARKS.

"The average proportion of Warriors to the whole number of souls, is about 1 to 5. In some tribes it is more, in others less. In the tribes dwelling among white people, the proportion is about 1 to 3. The number of men and women in the Cherokee nation is nearly equal. In the Menominee and Winnebago tribes, the women are a third more than the men. The number of children is much greater in proportion to the whole number of souls, in the two tribes last named, than in tribes mingled with white people.

"In Indian countries where fish constitutes an article of food, the number in each family is about six; in other tribes, where this article is wanting, the average number in a family is about five.

"In eight years the Winnebagoes increased, according to the account given by respectable Traders among them, from 3,500 to 5,800.

PROPORTION OF WARRIORS TO THE WHOLE NUMBER.

	WARRIORS.	WHOLE NO.	PROPORTION.
Indians South of Red River	13,229	46,370	about 3½
Winnebagoes	900	5,800	6½
Menominees	600	3,900	6½
Indians in Ohio	753	2,257	3
Missouri	7,560	30,000	4
On the West side of the Rocky Mountains			6

"It is gratifying to know, that the Government have in their possession, and at their disposal, the most ample means, with the blessing of God upon them, to procure for the Indians all the privileges and enjoyments, which distinguish and elevate us among the nations of the earth: and so singular is the fact, these very means have been furnished to our Government, by the people for whose benefit we ask to have them employed. The Table which accompanies this Report, compiled from *official* documents, shows, that more than *two hundred millions of acres* of some of the best lands in our country, have been purchased, after our manner, and at our own prices, of the Indian tribes. Of these lands, previously to October, 1819, there had been sold by the Government about eighteen and a half millions acres, for more than *forty-four millions of dollars*. The remainder of these lands, if sold at the same rate, and the sums paid to the Indians for them deducted, would yield to the Government a net profit of more than FIVE HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS!! With this statement before him, founded on official documents, will any man hazard his reputation as an honest, fair, and just man, by saying, "*We have no funds to give for civilizing the Indians?*"

INDIAN TITLES.

"The following opinion was given by an eminent Lawyer, in a case stated to him relative to the nature of Indian titles to their lands:—

"The case stated must be examined and considered with reference to certain established principles, the original foundation of which is now no longer open to inquiry. The European settlers of this country, claimed

to have a right to appropriate it to themselves, and the mildest and least exceptionable form in which they exercised that right, was to treat the aboriginal inhabitants as entitled to a limited or qualified property, a right to occupy and enjoy, under certain modifications, but with no power to convey, nor, indeed, to do any other acts of ownership. The right of soil, or the absolute property, and the jurisdiction over it, were, in the mean time, deemed to belong to the Sovereign, or State, under whose authority the discovery and settlement were made, and to the Grantees of such Sovereign or State. The interest in the soil carried with it the right to buy off, or otherwise remove, the incumbrance, which right, as respected the Sovereign or State, was, of course, full and absolute, but as respected individuals, was subject to such restrictions as might be thought fit to be imposed, either by general legislation, or by terms annexed to the respective grants.

"It resulted, necessarily, from this view of the subject, and I presume it may be considered as a general principle adopted and acted upon, if not uniformly, at least very extensively, in the British colonies and possessions in North America, that no title could be derived to individuals, merely by purchase from the Indians. A title to the soil could not be acquired, because, according to the theory adopted, the soil was not theirs; and a title could not be acquired to the occupation and enjoyment, because these were regarded as personal privileges, or rather privileges of the nation or tribe in possession, and were not permitted to be transferred.

"At the revolution, the rights of territory and jurisdiction, which belonged to the foreign Sovereign, and

such sovereign rights as had been granted by him to individuals or bodies, became vested in the States of the Union, within whose limits the territory lay.

"Individual rights, previously vested, were, on the contrary, respected and preserved; or, (as was, perhaps, the case in some instances,) where they were seemingly blended with certain sovereign powers, or powers too extensive to be held by individuals, were made the subject of an equitable commutation.

"Among the rights which thus became vested in the States, was the sovereign authority over the lands inhabited by the Indians within their bounds, and not yet become the subject of individual ownership or claim. It comprehended the right of soil, the jurisdiction, and the exclusive authority to purchase, or otherwise extinguish the *qualified property* of the Indians. This right was transferable to individuals, in the manner the State might deem best, and when so transferred was commonly called a *right of pre-emption*. The transfer, or grant, in whatever form, was usually accompanied with a condition, either expressed or understood, which required for the validity of the purchase from the Indians, that it should be made under the authority and with the sanction of some person or persons appointed by the State; and as these purchases were made from the tribe, or nation, and not from individuals, they have most commonly been made by treaty.

"The right of preemption, then, when granted to an individual, was a right to the soil, subject only to the occupation by the Indians, and to become absolute, so as to entitle him to possession, when that should be extin-

guished. It is clear, that such a grant would create a vested interest, in the individual, which could not rightfully be divested or impaired, without his own consent, or by such acts of legislation as are competent to effect any other vested interest.

"These general views are, in some measure, applicable to all the questions proposed, and I believe them to be in coincidence with the opinion expressed by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Fletcher v. Peck (6 Cranch 87. 141—2.)

"I am of opinion, that ——— (naming an Indian tribe,) did not acquire any legal right in the lands purchased by them from the (here naming another Indian tribe,) and of course that no legal title can be acquired by purchase from them. The tribe who sold had no power to sell. The constitution of the State of (———) expressly prohibits a sale, and the general principles before adverted to, which no doubt were in the view of those who framed the constitution, lead to the same result. Regarding the sales as merely void, as a nullity, producing no legal consequences, it cannot, I think, be considered as working a forfeiture," &c.

Vattels' Opinion on Indian Titles.

"Vattels' opinion on this subject, is, that a nation, merely by taking possession of a country, acquires, by this act, a title to "no more than it is able to people or cultivate."—"The law of nations only acknowledges the property and sovereignty of a nation over uninhabited countries, of which they shall really, and, in fact, take possession, in which they shall form settlements, or of

which they shall make actual use." "A nation may lawfully take possession of a part of a vast country, in which are found none but erratic nations, incapable, by the smallness of their numbers, to people the whole."— "The earth belongs to the human race in general, and was designed to furnish it with subsistence: if each nation had resolved, from the beginning, to appropriate to itself a vast country, that the people might live only by hunting, fishing, and wild fruits, our globe would not be sufficient to maintain a tenth part of its present inhabitants. People have not, then, deviated from the views of nature in confining the Indians within narrow limits. However, we cannot help praising the moderation of the English Puritans, the first settlers in New England; who, notwithstanding their being furnished with a charter from their sovereign, purchased of the Indians the land they resolved to cultivate. This laudable example was followed by Mr. William Penn; who planted the colony of Quakers in Pennsylvania."

Opinion of Hon. J. Q. Adam, Esq. on Indian Titles.

"There are moralists, who have questioned the right of the Europeans to intrude upon the possessions of the aboriginals in any case, and under any limitations whatsoever. But have they maturely considered the whole subject? The Indian right of possession itself stands, with regard to the greatest part of the country, upon a questionable foundation. Their cultivated fields; their constructed habitations; a space of ample sufficiency for their subsistence, and whatever they had annexed to themselves by personal labour, was undoubtedly, by

the laws of nature, theirs. But what is the right of a huntsman to the forest of a thousand miles over, which he has accidentally ranged in quest of prey? Shall the liberal bounties of Providence to the race of man be monopolized by one of ten thousand for whom they were created? Shall the exuberant bosom of the common mother, amply adequate to the nourishment of millions, be claimed exclusively by a few hundreds of her offspring? Shall the lordly savage not only disdain the virtues and enjoyments of civilization himself, but shall he control the civilization of a world? Shall he forbid the wilderness to blossom like the rose? Shall he forbid the oaks of the forest to fall before the axe of industry, and rise again, transformed into the habitations of ease and elegance? Shall he doom an immense region of the globe to perpetual desolation, and to hear the howlings of the tiger and the wolf, silence for ever the voice of human gladness? Shall the fields and the vallies, which a beneficent God has framed to teem with the life of innumerable multitudes, be condemned to everlasting barrenness? Shall the mighty rivers, poured out by the hands of nature, as channels of communication between numerous nations, roll their waters in sullen silence, and eternal solitude to the deep? Have hundreds of commodious harbours, a thousand leagues of coast, and a boundless ocean, been spread in the front of this land, and shall every purpose of utility to which they could apply, be prohibited by the tenant of the woods?"

Indian Titles.—J. Q. Adams' Plea, before the Supreme Court of the United States.

"What is the Indian Title? It is mere occupancy for the purpose of hunting. It is not like our tenures; they have no idea of a title to the soil itself. It is overrun by them, rather than inhabited. It is not a true and legal possession. Vattel, b. 1. § 81 p. 37. and § 209, b. 2. p. 96. Montesquieu, b. 18. c. 12. Smith's Wealth of Nations, b. 5. c. 1. It is a right not to be *transferred*, but *extinguished*. It is a right regulated by treaties, not by deeds of conveyance. It depends upon the law of nations, not upon municipal right."—Fletcher v. Peck Cranch, Vol. 6. p. 121.

Decision of the S. Court of the United States, on the subject of Indian Titles.

"The majority of the Court is of opinion, that the nature of the Indian Title, which is certainly to be respected by all Courts, until it be legitimately extinguished, is not such as to be absolutely repugnant to seisin in fee on the part of the State."—ibid 143.

"See also the opinions on this subject, of the Commissioners at the Treaty of Ghent.—Amer. State Papers—1812 to 1815. Vol. 9. p. 389 to 425.

"The recognition of a boundary," say the American Commissioners, "gives up to the nation in whose behalf it was made, all the Indian tribes and countries within that boundary. It was on this principle that the undersigned have confidently relied on the Treaty of 1783, which fixed and recognized the boundaries of the United

States, without making any reservation respecting the Indian tribes."—ibid. p. 424.

Constitution and Officers of a Society for promoting the general welfare of the Indian Tribes in the United States.

PREAMBLE.

"Whereas the public attention has been recently awakened, and turned with peculiar interest, to the civilization of the Indian Tribes within the United States, and it has hence become necessary to investigate the history, character, and actual condition of these tribes. And whereas the labour of a full, extensive, and accurate survey of this wide-spread and interesting field, is too great for individual effort: Therefore, for the purpose of combining the wisdom, the talents, and active energies of men of information, qualified and inclined to engage in this benevolent work, and directing them to the aid and support of those, whose office requires that they take the lead in accomplishing it, a Society has been formed and organized under the following

CONSTITUTION.

"1. The name of this Association shall be, 'The American Society for promoting the civilization and general improvement of the Indian Tribes within the United States.'"

"2. The special objects of this Society shall be, to secure for these tribes instruction in all branches of knowledge, suited to their capacities and condition; and for

this purpose, to ascertain the character and strength of their moral and intellectual powers, and their dispositions to receive instruction: to examine into their origin, history, memorials, antiquities, traditions, governments, customs, manners, laws, languages, and religions; into their diseases, remedies, and manner of applying them; —also, into the efforts which have been already made for meliorating their condition, and the results of those efforts, and where they have failed, the causes of failure: to ascertain the number and names of the tribes, their places of residence, the extent, soil, and climate, of their respective territories, the stations where education families may be most advantageously located, and to suggest whatever means may be employed for their improvement.

Other objects of the Society shall be, to obtain a knowledge of the geography, mineralogy, geology, natural history, &c. of the Indian country; to collect specimens in all these branches of science, for the purpose of forming a CABINET for the use of the Government of the United States: Also, to select suitable spots in the Indian country, for making experimental farms in the immediate view of Indians, on which to cultivate the different kinds of grains, grasses, trees, plants, roots, and other garden vegetables, adapted to the various soils and climates of the aforesaid country; to introduce the best breeds of domestic animals, and feathered fowls. And generally, to do all other things, which such a Society can do, to accomplish its grand object, THE CIVILIZATION OF THE INDIANS."

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

PATRONS.

* * *

Hon. JOHN ADAMS,
Hon. THOMAS JEFFERSON,
Hon. JAMES MADISON,
Late successive Presidents of the United States.

PRESIDENT.

The VICE-PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, ex-officio.

VICE-PRESIDENTS, ex-officio.

The Hon. THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
The Hon. THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,
The Hon THE SECRETARY OF WAR,
The Hon. THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,
The Hon. THE JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Their Excellencies, THE GOVERNORS OF THE SEVERAL STATES AND TERRITORIES, comprised in the National UNION.

The Education of Indian Females, and Intermarriages between Indians and White people.

"I connect these subjects, because, in contemplating the latter, the former should be kept in view. While Indians

remain in their present state, the minds of civilized people must revolt at the idea of intermarrying with them. It is natural, and decent, that it should be so. Intermarriages, however, in the present state of the Indians, or that which amounts to the same thing, have taken place to a great extent, and this, too, by many men of respectable talents and standing in society.* More than half the Cherokee nation, a large part of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and I may add, indeed, of all other tribes with whom the whites have had intercourse, are of mixed blood. The offspring of this intercourse, a numerous body, are of promising talents and appearance. Their complexion is nearly that of the white population. They require only *education*, and the enjoyment of our privileges, to make them a valuable portion of our citizens. Let this education, then, be given them, particularly to the female Indians.

"It is essential to the success of the project of the Government, that the female character among our native tribes, be raised from its present degraded state, to its proper rank and influence. This should be a *primary* object with the instructors of Indians. By educating female children, they will become prepared, in turn, to educate their own children, to manage their domestic

* "Mons. Peniere, an exile from France during her revolution, a man of genius and information, who resided four years among the Indians, a careful and intelligent observer of their character, speaks thus, on the subject of intermarriages. 'Encourage marriages between the whites and Indians. The second generation resulting from those alliances, would be totally white and beautiful. The Indians, in general, are better shaped, and more robust, than the whites; and their birth is as pure and noble as ours.'"—*M.S. Memoir on the Civilization of the Indians.*

concerns with intelligence and propriety, and in this way, they will gradually attain their proper standing and influence in society. Many examples exist, to show that all this is practicable. Thus educated, and the marriage institution, in its purity, introduced, the principal obstacles to intermarriage with them would be removed. Let the Indians, therefore, be taught all branches of knowledge pertaining to civilized man; *then* let intermarriage with them become general, and the end which the Government has in view will be completely attained. They would then be literally of one blood with us, be merged in the nation, and saved from extinction."

Important Suggestions on the Organization of Education Families.

"The following is extracted from an address to the Education Families among the Choctaws, from the Rev. Dr. Worcester, while at Mayhew, among the Choctaws, in the spring of 1821, shortly before his lamented death:

"Husbandry is a secular business in common life. But here husbandry is to be considered in a different light. The missionary farm should be regarded as the farm of the Lord; and those who labour here, are to labour as for Him, every day, and every hour. All, who are thus employed, are as really his servants as the missionary. And they should show cheerfulness in this labour; as much so, as if they were labouring for themselves."

"The department of husbandry is an important one, as a means of supporting the mission. In this respect it must become a great resource. The missions must depend much upon it. The children are to be educated in reading and writing, and all the arts of civilized life, on missionary ground. They are not taught at home. Every thing is to be learned here. They are both to be instructed and inured to labour. They must be made acquainted with husbandry and the labours of the field. This is a leading object."

"The following incident will show in what light the school at Eliot is viewed by the natives:—'A half-breed Choctaw, whose name is M'Curtin, had five children at school, and sent a sixth. The school was then full, and the sixth could not be received. The missionaries had repeatedly been obliged to decline receiving children. On the return of his child, the father fell into a passion, sent for his other five children, and took them from the school. Not long afterwards, the father being absent, an uncle of the children, called Captain Cole, hearing that Mr. Kingsbury was at Eliot, repaired thither with a petition, that the children might be received again. It is a custom of the Choctaws, that an uncle is a sort of guardian to children, even during the life of the father.'"

The following is a copy of Captain Cole's petition:—

"A-be-ate-up-in-bogue, June 6, 1821.

"Friend and Brother,

"I reflect that my nephews and nieces have been taken from your care, and the loss of education gives me

a great dissatisfaction of mind. I wish to return the boys to your care again. Your sanction to my request will give me much pleasure. The girls, I leave that to your own breast, whether you wish to call them to your care once more.

"When they were taken from you, it gave me dissatisfaction of mind; but I gave way to the father, as I thought it my duty.

"Should you be willing to take them, you will please to answer me by the first opportunity, and you will oblige

"Your Friend and Brother,

ROBERT COLE."

"We, the undersigned, humbly request that Mr. Kingsbury should sanction Captain Cole's request, and receive his nephews in the school again, as we feel sorry for his nephews—the loss of their education, which appears much to affect him.

Captain Levi Perry,	his x mark
Tus-cam-i-ub-by,	x
Tag-le-on-tub-by,	x
A-no-a-ga,	x
Hi-a-ca-gey,	x
Na-ho-le-ub-by,	x
Che-co-au-chub-by,	x
Neth-la-hom-a-chub-by,	x

"What can more clearly show the value, which the natives set on education, than the fact, that nine chiefs of a large district, should unite in a humble request, that children, who had been rashly taken away, might be restored again to the school? The missionaries agreed to receive the children again; but they had not returned

at the last intelligence. Captain Cole is the chief speaker of the district, in which he resides, and may succeed Puck-sha-nub-bee in the government of that district."

"In Council, Oostinaleh, April 18, 1810.

"1. *Be it known this day*, That the various clans or tribes which compose the Cherokee Nation, have unanimously passed an act of oblivion for all lives for which they have been indebted one to the other, and have mutually agreed, that after this evening the aforesaid act shall become binding upon every clan or tribe thereof.

"2. The aforesaid clans or tribes have also agreed, that if, in future, any life should be lost without malice intended, the innocent aggressor shall not be accounted guilty; and should it so happen, that a brother, forgetting his natural affections, should raise his hands in anger and kill his brother, he shall be accounted guilty of murder, and suffer accordingly.

"By order of the seven clans,

TURTLE AT HOME,
Speaker for the Council.
BLACK FOX,
PATH KILLER,
TOOCHALAR,
KEACHATALOO,
BOAT,
CHULEOA.

CHARLES HICKS, Secretary of the Council."

"A Letter from John Ross, Esq. Post-master, a Cherokee Chief, to David Brown, a Cherokee Youth at Cornwall School.*

"MR. D. BROWN,

Rossville, Cherokee Nation, July 13th, 1822.

"Dear Sir,—Your's of the 10th of June last, came to hand a few days since. It gives me pleasure to hear that you enjoy good health, as well as those of your Cherokee friends there; but I feel sorry to hear that Mr. John Ridge has not recovered from the disease with which he has been so long afflicted; but as it cannot be efficacious for man to say unto him, 'Take up thy bed and walk;' therefore his situation can only be confided to Him, who hath the healing power.

"The pamphlet, containing the letter of Mr. Lewis to a friend of Congress, on Indian civilization, which the Rev. Mr. Westbrook had the goodness to send me, has been received; for which you will please to return him my sincere thanks. To reflect seriously on the condition of the Indian Tribes, inhabiting the continent of

* I believe J. Ross is only a half-breed Indian. Where this is the case, it ought always to be stated, as there is an apparent want of sincerity, in drawing inferences from the productions of a half-breed as to the capacity of improvement possessed by Indians in general. I believe firmly, that the Indians are capable of civilization; but I do not think that the attainments of those who have derived their birth and education from a white parent is a proof of it. At all events, the reader should not be led to suppose that he is reading the production of a full-blooded Indian, while he is, in fact, reading the production of a half-breed. I particularly recommend this suggestion to the editors of some of the American periodical publications, many of whom, though incapable of intentionally misleading the public in the slightest degree, may have inadvertently fallen into the error to which I have alluded.

America, and to review the miserable fate which has befallen and swept into wretchedness and oblivion the numerous Tribes that once inhabited the country bordering on the Atlantic, is enough to make the remnant of those Tribes, who are now encompassed by the white population, shudder. Yet I cannot believe that the Indians are doomed to perish in wretchedness, from generation to generation, as they are approached by the white population, until they shall be annihilated from the face of the earth. Surely there are motives and feelings daily engendering, in the minds and hearts of the citizens of the United States, which have never been heretofore pursued, or even felt, by them towards the aborigines of this vast continent. The small experiment made by the exertions of benevolent societies, through their faithful missionaries, has awakened the American people to a sense of what might be done to better the condition of the Indian race. Under such circumstances, when the Indians are themselves seen to manifest a thirst to reach after the blessings and happiness derivable from civilized life, I cannot believe that the United States Government will still continue to pursue the lukewarm system of policy, in her relations with the Indians, as has hitherto been adopted, to effect the purpose of removing nation after nation of them from the lands of their fathers into the remote wilderness, where their encroachments on the hunting grounds of other Tribes has been attended with the unhappy consequences of quarrels, wars, and bloodshed.—Has not this been the result of the removal of part of our own nation to the Arkansaw? Yes! the uplifted tomahawk is now wielding, and the scalping-knife is unsheathed between the Arkansaws, Cherokees,

and the Osages, for the horrid destruction of each other. Let the American people look to the prominent causes which have led to these unhappy consequences, and they will not fail to see it, in the system of policy pursued by their Government towards those wretched and oppressed people, in removing them from the lands of their inheritance, where the bones of their ancestors have mouldered into dust for ages. I repeat, when all these circumstances are combined, and taken into serious consideration, I hope and trust that the general Government will abandon that policy, and adopt a system of amelioration, under which those remnants of Tribes may flourish, and become happy. As respects our own nation here, I could willingly say, that in case the United States deem it inexpedient to apply a part of her treasure towards promoting our civilization, &c. and would but let us remain in the peaceable and quiet possession of our country, that our own exertions, together with those of our benevolent missionaries and friends, would, in time, testify to the world, that Indians are endowed with mental capacity fully adequate to receive the highest branches of temporal and spiritual improvements, under the influences of civilized life. The subject embraces too extensive a field for reflection, to be discussed in a hasty letter; you will excuse me for wandering therein, as far as I have done.

"I have no news of moment to communicate.—I was at your father's house when your brother's funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Potter.—Tender my best respects to our Cherokee friends at Cornwall.

"Your's affectionately,

"JNO. ROSS."

G

Translation of part of the 19th Psalm into the Muh-he-con-nuk language, done at the Cornwall School, under the superintendence of the Rev. John Serjeant, Missionary.

1. Neen woh-we-koi-wau-con-nun wih-tom-mon-nau-woh neh week-chau-nauq-tho-wau-con Poh-tom-now-waus; don neh pau-muh-hom-inau-we-noi-eke wpon-nooth-ne-kaun wnih-tau-nuh-kau-wau-con.

1. The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handy work.

2. Woh-kom-maun aup-to-naun, don tpooh-quon wau-wiht-no-waun nooh-tom-mau-wau-con.

2. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge.

3. Stoh nit-hoh aup-to-nau-wau-con een-huh un-neekh-tho-wau-con neh au-ton-nih stoh ptow-wau-mooq.

3. There is no speech nor language, where their voice is not heard.

4. Wtoh-pih-haun-woh pkoch-chih au-so-khaun mau-weh pau-paum'h hkey-eke, don neen wtaup-to-nau-con-no-waun pau-chih wihq'h h-key-eke. Whuk-kau-wauk wtuh-tow-waun we-ke-neet neen ke-soo-khun.

4. Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun.

H

SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

"Cassina Lake, the source of the Mississippi, is situated 17 degrees north of the Balize, on the Gulf of Mexico, and 2978 miles, pursuing the course of the river. Estimating the distance to Lake La Beche, its extreme north-western inlet at 60 miles, which I conclude to be within bounds, we have a result of 3038 miles, as the entire length of this wonderful river, which extends over the surface of the earth, in a direct line, more than half the distance from the Arctic Circle to the Equator. It is also deserving of remark, that its source lies in a region of almost continual winter, while it enters the ocean under the latitude of perpetual verdure. Originating in a region of lakes, upon the table land, which throw their waters north into Hudson's Bay, south into the Gulf of Mexico, and east into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, it pursues its course to the falls of Peckagama, a distance of 230 miles, through a low prairie, covered with wild rice, rushes, sword-grass, and other aquatic plants.

"During this distance, it is extremely devious as to course and width, sometimes expanding into small lakes, at others narrowing into a channel of about 80 feet. It is about 60 feet wide on its exit from Red Cedar, or Cassina Lake, with an average depth of two feet.

"At the falls of Peckagama, the first rock stratum, and the first wooded island is seen. Here the river has a fall of 20 feet, and from this to the falls of St. Anthony, a distance of 685 miles, exhibits its second characteristic division. At the head of the falls of Peckagama, the prairies entirely cease, and below a forest of elm, maple, birch, oak, and ash, overshadows the stream.

"At the falls of St. Anthony, the river has a perpendicular pitch of 40 feet, and from this to its junction with the Missouri, a distance of 843 miles, it is bounded by limestone bluffs, which attain various elevations from one to four hundred feet, and present a succession of the most sublime and picturesque views. This forms the third characteristic change of the Mississippi. The river prairies cease, and rocky bluffs commence precisely at the falls of St. Anthony.

"The fourth change in the physical aspect of this river is at the junction of the Missouri, and this is a total and complete one, the character of the Mississippi being entirely lost in that of the Missouri. The latter is, in fact, much the largest stream of the two, and carries its characteristic appearances into the ocean. The waters of the Mississippi at its confluence with the Missouri, are moderately clear, and of a greenish hue; the Missouri is turbid and opake, of a greyish-white colour, and during its floods, which happen twice a year, communicates, almost instantaneously, to the combined stream its predominating qualities. The distance from the mouth of the Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico, is 1220 miles. This part of the river is more particularly characterized by snags and sawyers, falling-in banks and islands, sand-bars and mud-banks, and a channel which is shifted by every flood, and of such extreme velocity, that it was formerly thought it could not be navigated by vessels propelled with sails. The width of the river opposite St. Louis is one mile; it is somewhat less at New Orleans, and still less at its embochure. A bar at its mouth prevents ships drawing more than 18 feet water from entering."—*Schoolcraft.*

I.

Remarks on the Vestiges of ancient Civilization, which are found in North America, and on the Traces of an Asiatic Origin, exhibited by the Present Race of Indians.

In the following pages I have collected some particulars on the subject of the vestiges of ancient civilization in different parts of North America, and of the traces of an Asiatic origin which are to be found among the present race of Indians. I had proposed to digest and compress the substance of the large extracts which I have made, and which are principally from the Archæologia Americana, Dr. Dwight's Travels, the American Journal of Science and Art, vol. vii. No. 1, Dr. Jarvis's admirable Discourse on the Religion of the Indians, Humboldt, and Dr. Clarke. I am, however, unwilling on so interesting a subject, and in a case in which imagination is so apt to exert an undue influence, to deprive the reader of the opportunity of forming some estimate of the credibility of these statements, by examining the internal evidence of their authenticity. I am also, aware that on a subject of this nature, a general outline is far less convincing and impressive, than particular descriptions and minute details.

The first class of Antiquities which I shall notice, comprizes the works which appear to have been erected chiefly for military purposes.

"On the south side of Ontario," says Mr. Attwater, in a Paper published in the Archæologia Americana,

"one not far from Black River, is the furthest in a north-eastern direction on this continent. One on the Chenango River, at Oxford, in the State of New York, is the furthest south, *on the eastern side of the Alleghanies.* In travelling towards Lake Erie, in a western direction from the works above-mentioned, a few small works are occasionally found, especially in the Gennessee country; but they are few and small, until we arrive at the mouth of Cataraugus Creek, a water of Lake Erie, in Cataraugus county, in the State of New York, where Governor Clinton, in his Memoir, &c. says, 'A line of forts commences, extending south upwards of fifty miles, and not more than four or five miles apart.' There is said to be another line of them, parallel to these, which generally contains a few acres of ground only, whose walls are only a few feet in height. At Salem, in Ashtabula county, there is one on a hill, which merits a few words, though it is a small one compared with others further south. The work at Salem, is on a hill, near Coneaught River, if my information be correct, and is about three miles from Lake Erie. It is round, having two parallel circular walls, and a ditch between them. Through these walls, leading into the inclosure, are a gateway and a road, exactly like a modern turnpike, descending down the hill to the stream, by such a gradual slope, that a team with a waggon might easily either ascend or descend it; and there is no other place by which these works could be approached, without considerable difficulty. Within the bounds of this ancient enclosure, the trees which grew there were such as denote the richest soil in this country, while those growing outside of these ruins, were such as denote the poorest,

"Proceeding still to the southward, the ancient works become more and more numerous, and more intricate, and of greater size; denoting the increase of their authors, in number, strength, and a better acquaintance with the art of constructing them. At length we reach the interesting ones on two branches of the Licking, near Newark, in Licking county, Ohio, which, on many accounts, are quite as remarkable as any others in North America, or perhaps, in any part of the world. Southwardly from the great works on the Licking, four or five miles in a north-western direction from Somerset, is an ancient work of stone. Proceeding down the Muskingum, to its mouth, at Marietta, are some of the most extraordinary ancient works, any where to be found."

"From near Lower Sandusky, I am not informed of any worthy of notice, that is, 'Forts,' until we arrive at Circleville, 26 miles south of Columbus. These are situated not far from the junction of Hargus's Creek with the latter river, which is on the east side of the river, and south side of the creek. Where the wall of the square fort has been manufactured into brick, the workmen found some ashes, calcined stones, sticks, and a little vegetable mould, all of which must have been taken up from the surface of the surrounding plain. As the square fort is a perfect square, so the gateways or openings are at equal distances from each other, and on a right line parallel with the wall. The walls of this work vary a few degrees from north and south, east and west; but not more than the needle varies, and not a few surveyors have, from this circumstance, been impressed with the belief that the authors of these works were acquainted with astronomy. What surprised me, on measuring these

forts, was the exact manner in which they had laid down their circle and square, so that after every effort, by the most careful survey, to detect some error in their measurement, we found that it was impossible, and that the measurement was much more correct than it would have been, in all probability, had the present inhabitants undertaken to construct such a work. Let those consider this circumstance, who affect to believe these antiquities were raised by the ancestors of the present race of Indians.

"These works have been examined by the first military men now living in the United States, and they have uniformly declared their opinion to be, that they were military works of defence.

"On Paint Creek Ohio, where probably was once an ancient city of great extent, are some works,* in some respects exceeding all others. The nearest of these are situated about 11, and the furthest 15 miles, westwardly, from the town of Chillicothe. Descending the Scioto to its mouth, at Portsmouth, we find an ancient work, which, I doubt not, was a military one of defence, situated on the Kentucky shore, nearly opposite the town of Alexandria. The importance of this place, it seems, was duly appreciated by the people, who, in "olden time" resided here. To their attachment to this part of the country, as well as the great population which must have been here, are we indebted for the striking and numerous traces of a once flourishing settlement.

"The ancient works on the little Miami river have been

* It is stated by Mr. Nuttall, who visited most of the Ancient remains, described in these pages, that some of the works on Paint Creek are vitrified every ten yards.

much noticed by those who have travelled on the road which crosses them; and several partial accounts of them have already been published. But as some farther notice of these extraordinary remains of antiquity may be here expected, the accompanying engraving is given.—(See Plate I.)

Ancient Tumuli.

"There is another species of ancient works in this country which deserves our notice. They are conical mounds, either of earth or stones, which were intended for many sacred and important purposes.—

"They are of various altitudes and dimensions, some being only four or five feet in height, and ten or twelve feet in diameter at their base; whilst others, as we travel to the south, rise to the height of 80 and 90 feet, and cover many acres of ground."

"They are generally, where completed, in the form of a cone. Those in the north part of Ohio are inferior in size, and fewer in number, than those along the river. These mounds are believed to exist, from the rocky mountains in the west, to the Alleghanies in the east; from the southern shore of Lake Erie to the Mexican Gulf, and though few and small in the north, numerous and lofty in the south, yet exhibit proofs of a common origin.

I shall begin with the tumuli on the Muskingum, which are not very numerous, nor comparatively interesting, until we descend to Morgan County, where are some on the head waters of Jonathan's Creek, whose bases are formed of well-burnt bricks, between four and

five inches square. There were found lying on the bricks charcoal, cinders, and pieces of calcined human bones. Above them, the mound was composed of earth, showing that the dead had been burned, in the manner of several eastern nations, and the mound raised afterwards.

"Descending the Muskingum to its mouth, we arrive at the celebrated works of Marietta, already noticed, but not fully described. It is with great pleasure, that I here avail myself of a communication from Dr. S. P. Hildreth, of Marietta:

"'In removing the earth, which composed an ancient mound in one of the streets of Marietta, on the margin of the plain, near the fortifications, several curious articles were discovered the latter part of June, (1819.) They appear to have been buried with the body of the person, to whose memory this mound was erected.

"'Lying immediately over, or on the forehead of the body, were found three large circular bosses, or ornaments for a sword-belt, or a buckler; they are composed of copper, overlaid with a thick plate of silver. The fronts of them are slightly convex, with a depression, like a cup, in the centre, and measure two inches and a quarter across the face of each. On the back, opposite the depressed portion, is a copper rivet or nail, around which are two separate plates, by which they were fastened to the leather. Two small pieces of the leather were found lying between the plates of one of the bosses; they resemble the skin of an old mummy, and seem to have been preserved by the salts of the copper. The plates of copper are nearly reduced to an oxyde, or rust. The silver looks quite black, but is not much corroded, and on rubbing, it becomes quite brilliant. Two of these

are yet entire; the third one is so much wasted, that it dropped in pieces on removing it from the earth. Around the rivet of one of them is a small quantity of flax or hemp, in a tolerable state of preservation. Near the side of the body was found a plate of silver, which appears to have been the upper part of a sword-scabbard; it is six inches in length, and two inches in breadth, and weighs one ounce; it has no ornaments or figures, but has three longitudinal ridges, which probably correspond with edges, or ridges, of the sword; it seems to have been fastened to the scabbard by three or four rivets, the holes of which yet remain in the silver.

"'Two or three broken pieces of a copper tube were also found, filled with iron rust. These pieces, from their appearance, composed the lower end of the scabbard, near the point of the sword. No sign of the sword itself was discovered, except the appearance of rust above-mentioned.

"'Near the feet was found a piece of copper, weighing three ounces. From its shape, it appears to have been used as a plumb, or for an ornament, as near one of the ends is a circular crease, or groove, for tying a thread; it is round, two inches and a half in length, one inch in diameter at the centre, and half an inch at each end. It is composed of small pieces of native copper, pounded together; and in the cracks between the pieces are stuck several pieces of silver; one nearly the size of a four-penny piece, or half a dime. This copper ornament was covered with a coat of green rust, and is considerably corroded. A piece of red ochre, or paint, and a piece of iron ore, which has the appearance of having been par-

tially vitrified, or melted, were also found. The ore is about the specific gravity of pure iron.

"'The body of the person here buried, was laid on the surface of the earth, with his face upward, and his feet pointing to the north-east, and head to the south-west. From the appearance of several pieces of charcoal, and bits of partially burnt fossil coal, and the black colour of the earth, it would seem that the funeral obsequies had been celebrated by fire; and while the ashes were yet hot and smoking, a circle of thin flat stones had been laid around and over the body. The circular covering is about eight feet in diameter, and the stones yet look black, as if stained by fire and smoke. This circle of stones seems to have been the nucleus on which the mound was formed, as immediately over them is heaped the common earth of the adjacent plain, composed of a clayey sand and coarse gravel. This mound must originally have been about ten feet high, and 30 feet in diameter at its base. At the time of opening it, the height was six feet, and diameter between 30 and 40. It has every appearance of being as old as any in the neighbourhood, and was, at the first settlement of Marietta, covered with large trees, the remains of whose roots were yet apparent in digging away the earth. It also seems to have been made for this single personage, as the remains of one skeleton only were discovered. The boxes were much decayed, and many of them crumbled to dust on exposure to the air. From the length of some of them, it is supposed the person was about six feet in height.

"'Nothing unusual was discovered in their form, except that that of the skull were uncommonly thick. The situation of the mound on high ground, near the margin

of the plain, and the porous quality of the earth, are admirably calculated to preserve any perishable substance from the certain decay which would attend it in many other situations. To these circumstances, is attributed the tolerable state of preservation in which several of the articles above described were found, after laying in the earth for several centuries. We say centuries, from the fact, that trees were found growing on those ancient works, whose ages were ascertained to amount to between 400 and 500 years each, by counting the concentric circles in the stumps after the trees were cut down; and on the ground, besides them, were other trees in a state of decay, that appeared to have fallen from old age. Of what language, or of what nation were this mighty race, that once inhabited the territory watered by the Ohio, remains yet a mystery, too great for the most learned to unravel.

"But from what we have seen of their works, they must have had some acquaintance with the arts and sciences. They have left us perfect specimens of circles, squares, octagons, and parallel lines, on a grand and noble scale. And unless it can be proved that they had intercourse with Asia or Europe, we now see that they possessed the art of working in metals."

"I have also been told from good authority, that an ornament, composed of very pure gold, something similar to those found here, was discovered a few years since in Ross County, near Chillicothe, lying in the palm of a skeleton's hand, in a small mound. This curiosity, I am told, is in the Museum at Philadelphia."

"As we still descend the Scioto, through a most fertile region of country, mounds, and other ancient works

frequently appear, until we arrive at Circleville, 26 miles south of Columbus, where are to be seen some of the most interesting antiquities anywhere to be found.

"The works have been noticed, but the mounds remain to be described. Of these, there were several which the ruthless hand of man is destroying. Near the centre of the round fort, was a tumulus of earth, about ten feet in height, and several rods in diameter at its base. On its eastern side, and extending six rods from it, was a semicircular pavement, composed of pebbles, such as are now found in the bed of the Scioto river, from whence they appear to have been brought.

"The summit of this tumulus was nearly 30 feet in diameter, and there was a raised way to it, leading from the east, like a modern turnpike. The summit was level. The outline of the semicircular pavement and the walk is still discernible.—The earth composing this mound was entirely removed several years since. The writer was present at its removal, and carefully examined the contents.

"It contained,

"1. Two human skeletons, lying on what had been the original surface of the earth.

"2. A great quantity of arrow heads, some of which were so large, as to induce a belief that they were used for spear-heads.

"3. The handle either of a small sword or a large knife, made of an elk's horn; around the end where the blade had been inserted, was a ferule of silver, which, though black, was not much injured by time. Though the handle showed the hole where the blade had been inserted, yet no iron was found, but an oxyde remained, of similar shape and size.

"4. Charcoal and wood ashes, on which these articles lay, which were surrounded by several bricks, very well burnt. The skeleton appeared to have been burnt in a large and very hot fire, which had almost consumed the bones of the deceased. This skeleton was deposited a little to the south of the centre of the tumulus; and, about 20 feet to the north of it, was another, with which were,

"5. A large mirror, about three feet in length, one foot and a half in breadth, and one inch and a half in thickness. This mirror was of isinglass, (*mica membranacea,*) and on it,

"6. A plate of iron, which had become an oxyde; but before it was disturbed by the spade, resembled a plate of cast iron. The mirror answered the purpose very well for which it was intended. This skeleton had also been burned like the former, and lay on charcoal and a considerable quantity of wood ashes. A part of the mirror is in my possession, as well as a piece of a brick, taken from the spot at the time.

"The knife, or sword handle, was sent to Mr. Peale's museum, at Philadelphia.

"To the south-west of this tumulus, about forty rods from it, is another, more than ninety feet in height. It stands on a large hill, which appears to be artificial. This must have been the common cemetery, as it contains an immense number of human skeletons, of all sizes and ages.

"The skeletons are laid horizontally, with their heads generally towards the centre, and the feet towards the outside of the tumulus. A considerable part of this work still stands uninjured, except by time. In it have

been found, besides these skeletons, stone axes and knives, and several ornaments, with holes through them, by means of which, with a cord passing through these perforations, they could be worn by their owners.—

"Five miles and a half from Chillicothe, on Paint Creek, are some very interesting works of antiquity. The area of the largest enclosure contains about one hundred and ten acres. On the north-east and west side of it, is a wall, with an entrenchment, or ditch, on its outside. It is generally twelve feet from the bottom to the summit of the wall, which is of earth. The ditch is about twenty feet wide, and the base of the wall the same. There is no ditch on the side next the river. The small work, on the east side, contains sixteen acres, and the walls are like those of the larger work, but there is no ditch. The largest circular work, which consists of a wall and ditch, like those already described, is a sacred enclosure, including within it six mounds, which have been used as cemeteries.—The immense labour, and the numerous cemeteries filled with human bones, denote a vast population near this spot in ancient times.—

"The 'Big Grave,' as it is called, stands about half way between the two creeks, (near Wheeling) and about one-fourth of a mile from the river. It is certainly one of the most august monuments of remote antiquity any where to be found. Its circumference, at the base, is three hundred yards; its diameter, of course, one hundred. Its altitude, from measurement, is ninety feet; and its diameter, at the summit, is forty-five feet. The centre, at the summit, appears to have sunk several feet, so as to form a small kind of amphitheatre. The rim

enclosing this amphitheatre, is seven or eight feet in thickness.

"This lofty and venerable tumulus has been so far opened, as to ascertain that it contains many thousands of human skeletons, but no farther."

"Following the river Ohio downwards, the mounds appear on both sides, erected uniformly on the highest alluvions along that stream. Those at Marietta, Portsmouth, and Cincinnati, are noticed elsewhere. Their numbers increase all the way to the Mississippi, on which river they assume the largest size. Not having surveyed them, we shall use the description of Mr. Brackenridge, who has devoted great attention to them. With his discriminating powers of mind, the public are acquainted.

"'These tumuli, as well as the fortifications, are to be found at the junction of all the rivers, along the Mississippi, in the most eligible positions for towns, and in the most extensive bodies of fertile land. Their number exceeds, perhaps, three thousand; the smallest not less than twenty feet in height, and one hundred in diameter, at the base. Their great number, and the astonishing size of some of them, may be regarded as furnishing, with other circumstances, evidences of their antiquity. I have been sometimes induced to think, that, at the period when these were constructed, there was a population as numerous as that which once animated the borders of the Nile, or of the Euphrates, or of Mexico. The most numerous, as well as the most considerable of these remains, are found precisely in those parts of the country where the traces of a numerous population might be looked for, viz. from the mouth of the Ohio, on the east side of the river, to the Illinois river, and on the

west side from the St. Francis to the Missouri. I am perfectly satisfied that cities, similar to those of ancient Mexico, of several hundred thousand souls, have existed in this country."

"Nearly opposite St. Louis, there are traces of two such cities, in the distance of five miles. They are situated on the Cahokia, which crosses the American bottom opposite St. Louis. One of the mounds is eight hundred yards in circumference at the base, (the exact size of the pyramid of Asychis,) and one hundred feet in height. Mr. Brackenridge noticed a mound at New Madrid, of three hundred and fifty feet in diameter at the base. Other large ones are at the following places, viz. at St. Louis, one with two stages, another with three; at the mouth of the Missouri; at the mouth of Cahokia river, in two groups; twenty miles below, two groups also, but the mounds of a smaller size; on the bank of a lake formerly the bed of the river, at the mouth of Marameck, St. Genevieve; one near Washington, Mississippi State, of one hundred and forty-six feet in height; at Baton Rouge, and on the Bayou Manshac; one of the mounds near the lake is composed chiefly of shells. The inhabitants have taken away great quantities of them for lime.

"The mound on Black River, has two stages and a group around. At each of the above places, there are groups of mounds, and there was probably once a city. Mr. Brackenridge thinks, that the largest city belonging to this people, was situated between the Ohio, Mississippi, Missouri, and Illinois. On the plains between the Arkansaw and St. Francis, there are several very large mounds. Thus, it will be seen, that these remains, which

were so few and small along the northern lakes, are more and more numerous as we travel in a south-western direction, until we reach the Mississippi, where they are lofty and magnificent. Those works similar to the teocalli of Mexico, by the Spaniards called 'Adoratorios,' are not found north of the mound at Circleville, on the Scioto; or at least I have seen none of them. They are very common and lofty it seems on the Mississippi River. An observing eye can easily mark, in these works, the progress of their authors, from the lakes to the valley of the Mississippi; thence to the Gulf of Mexico, and round it, through Texas, into New Mexico, and into South America. Their increased numbers as they proceeded, are evident; while the articles found in and near these works, show, also, the progressive improvement of the arts among those who erected them.

Places of Diversion.

By places of diversion, we mean not those with which mounds are connected; the latter evidently were intended for the celebration of solemn games, instituted in honour of the dead. The works we speak of under this head, are either round, like the small one, a short distance north of the square fort at Circleville, or they consist of two long parallel roads, resembling, in almost all respects, two turnpike roads. The circular ones, though frequently, nay generally, found in the vicinity of a great population in those days, consist of earth, raised but a few feet, by the aid of art, like a modern turnpike-road, two rods or more in width, though sometimes less than one, being the highest in the

centre, and gradually descending towards the outside. This road is perfectly smoothed by art. In the centre, the earth has a gentle and regular rise. The oblong figure annexed, Plate 2, is a representation of a great number of similar works, in various parts of this country. There are three such works between Circleville and Chillicothe, through which the present road passes.

"If these works were not places of diversion, I cannot surmise for what purpose they were raised by their authors. They were of no use as places of defence. If intended for worship, or the celebration of games, near the tombs of their ancestors or chieftains, why are they not connected with the mounds, instead of being uniformly placed at a distance from them? The number of such works, in various parts of the country, especially on the Scioto, Ohio, Kenhawa, Big Sandy Rivers, &c. is considerable. They are so similar in structure, appearance, and situation, that the inference I draw from these circumstances, is, that they were raised for similar purposes. Some persons have not failed to call them 'roads;' but if so, why are they always unconnected with other works? and why are they constructed either circular or in two long parallel lines, and these again connected at the ends?"*

Dr. Clarke, in describing the country between St. Petersburgh and Moscow, remarks, "Conical mounds of earthen tumuli occur very frequently." Again, "Throughout the whole of this country, (between Woeronitz and Paulovsky,) are seen dispersed over immense plains, mounds of earth, covered with a fine turf, the

* Attwater.—*Archæologia Americana.*

sepulchres of the ancient world, common to almost every habitable country.—They seem to mark the progress of population, in the first ages after the dispersion, rising wherever the posterity of Noah came. Whether under the form of a mound in Scandinavia and Russia, a barrow in England, a cairn in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, or those heaps which the modern Greeks and Turks call *Tepé*; lastly, in the more artificial shape of a pyramid in Egypt, they have universally the same origin. They present the simplest and sublimest monuments which any generation could raise over the bodies of their progenitors; calculated for almost endless duration, and speaking a language more impressive than the most studied epitaph upon Parian marble."

Mr. Attwater, remarking on Dr. Clarke's description of some of the mounds in Russia, observes, "Who ever described with more accuracy, that species of mounds of earth in Ohio, which were used as cemeteries. Unless we knew to the contrary, who of us, in Ohio, would ever suspect that Dr. Clarke was not describing with fidelity our Western mounds?"

Those more artificial gigantic structures in the Old World, which served as temples as well as tombs, appear to be common to both hemispheres. It is observed by Humboldt, "When we consider in the same point of view, the pyramidical monuments of Egypt, of Asia, and of the New Continent, we see, that though their form is alike, their destination is altogether different. The group of pyramids at Ghiza, and at Sakhara, in Egypt; the triangular pyramid of the Queen of the Scythians, Zarina, which was a stadium high, and three in circumference, and which was decorated with a colossal

figure; the fourteen Etruscan pyramids, which are said to have been enclosed in the labyrinth of King Porsenna, at Clusium, were reared to serve as the sepulchres of the illustrious dead. Nothing is more natural to men, than to commemorate the spot where rest the ashes of those whose memory they cherish; whether it be, as in the infancy of the race, by simple mounds of earth, or in later periods, by the towering height of the tumulus. Those of the Chinese and of Thibet, have only a few metres of elevation. Farther to the west, the dimensions increase; the tumulus of the king Alyattes, father of Crœsus, in Lydia, was six stadia; and that of Ninus was more than ten stadia in diameter. In the north of Europe, the sepulchres of the Scandinavian king, Gormus, and the queen Daneboda, covered with mounds of earth, are three hundred metres broad, and more than thirty high. We meet with these tumuli in both hemispheres; in Virginia and in Canada, as well as in Peru, where numerous galleries, built with stone, and communicating with each other by shafts, fill up the interior of the *huacas*, or artificial hills. In Asia, these rustic monuments have been decorated with the refinements of eastern luxury, while their primitive forms have been preserved. The tombs of Pergamus are cones of earth, raised on a circular wall, which seems to have been encased with marble."

"The Teocallis, or Mexican pyramids, were, at once, temples and tombs. We have already observed, that the plain, on which were built the houses of the Sun and of the Moon, at Teotihuaca, is called the *Path of the Dead*; but the essential and principal part of a Teocalli, was the chapel, the *naos* at the top of the edifice. In

the infancy of civilization, high places were chosen by the people, to offer sacrifices to the gods. The first altars, the first temples, were erected on mountains; and when these mountains were isolated, the worshippers delighted in the toil of shaping them into regular forms, cutting them by stories, and making stairs to reach the summit more easily. Both continents afford numerous examples of these hills divided into terraces, and supported by walls of brick or stone. The Teocallis appear to me to be merely artificial hills, raised in the midst of a plain, and intended to serve as a basis to the altars. What more sublime and awful, than a sacrifice that is offered in the sight of an assembled nation! The pagods of Indostan have nothing in common with the Mexican temples. That of Tanjore, of which Mr. Daniell has given beautiful drawings, is a tower with several stories, but the altar is not at the top of the monument."

"The pyramid of Bel was, at once, the temple and tomb of this god. Strabo does not speak of this monument as a temple, he simply calls it the tomb of Belus. In Arcadia, the tumulus χῶμα, which contained the ashes of Calisto, bore on its top a temple of Diana. Pausanias describes it as a cone, made by the hands of men, and long covered with vegetation. This is a very remarkable monument, in which the temple is only an incidental decoration; it serves, if we may use the expression, as an intermediary step between the pyramids of Sakhara, and the Mexican Teocallis."

In the American Journal of Science and Arts, I lately met with a paper on the Celtic Antiquities of America, in which the author, Mr. Finch, attempts to show, that examples of the fine species of monuments

which the Scythians erected in different parts of the world, are to be found in America. These different monuments are, 1. Cromlechs; 2, Stones of memorial or sacrifice; 3d, Circles of memorial; 4th, Rocking-stones; 5th, Tumuli, or Barrows. The following extracts comprize some of the examples which he has adduced in support of his opinion.

"1st. *Cromlechs.*—On my arrival in this country, I thought I had left the land of Celts and Druids far behind me; and great was my astonishment, on a perusal of Silliman's Philosophical Journal, when I read, in the second volume, page 200, the description of a most noble cromlech; although the writer, the Rev. Elias Cornelius, is evidently not aware of the valuable relic of antiquity which he has described. It is mentioned by that gentlemen, on account of a geological fact supposed to be connected with it; the highest stone is of granite, and the pillars which support it are of primitive limestone, which is, therefore, supposed to be of equal age with the granite above; but, in fact, it is a magnificent cromlech, and the most ancient and venerable monument which America possesses; and establishes a common origin between the Aborigines, who erected this monument, and the nations who erected similar cromlechs in other parts of the world."

"It is thus described: 'In the town of North Salem, and State of New York, is a rock, which, from the singularity of its position, has long attracted the notice of those who live in its vicinity; and being near the public road, seldom escapes the notice of the passing traveller. Although weighing many tons, its breadth being ten feet, and greatest circumference forty feet, it stands

elevated in different parts, from two to five feet above the earth, resting its whole weight upon the apices of seven small conical pillars. Six of these, with their bases either united or contiguous, spring up like an irregular group of teeth, and constitute the support of one end of the rock. The remaining pillar supports the other end, and stands at the lowest part of the surface over which the rock is elevated.'

"'Notwithstanding the form of the rock is very irregular, and its surface uneven, its whole weight is so nicely adjusted upon these seven small points, that no external force yet applied, has been sufficient to give it even a tremulous motion. There is no mountain or other elevation near it, from which the rock could have been thrown.'"

"2nd. *Stones of Memorial or Sacrifice.*—Mr. Kendall, who travelled in the northern parts of the United States, seems to have had a very correct idea of the value of these monuments, in a historical point of view; and mentions some of those which occur in Massachusetts. He says, 'In different parts of the woods, are six or seven masses of stone, on which the few Indians who still hover around their ancient possessions, make offerings; and, on this account, the name is given them, of Sacrifice Rocks. Two of these are on the side of the road, leading from Plymouth to Sandwich; one of them is six feet high, the other four, and they are ten or twelve feet in length. They differ in nothing as to their figure, from the masses of granite and other rocks which are scattered over the surface of the surrounding country. All that distinguishes them, are the crowns of oak and pine branches which they bear; of which some are fresh, others are fading, and the rest decayed.'"

"Captain Smith, in his description of Virginia, relates, 'That the Indians had certain altar-stones, which they call Pawcorances; these stand apart from their temples, some by their houses, others in their woods and wildernesses. As you travel by them, they will tell you the cause of their erection, wherein they instruct their children, as their best records of antiquity, and sacrifices are offered upon these stones, when they return from the wars, from hunting, and upon many other occasions.'"

Charlevoix mentions the worship of rocks as one of the superstitions of the Northern Indians.

In Messrs. Lewis and Clarke's Travels, there are noticed several of these rocks.

"Stone-Idol Creek, on the Missouri, derives its name from three rude stones, which the Ricaras, a tribe of Indians, worship. Whenever they pass by, they stop to make some offering of dress, in order to propitiate these sacred deities. On the bank of the Chissetaw Creek, is a rock, which is held in great veneration by the neighbouring savages, and is visited by parties who go to consult it as to their own and nation's destinies.

"The fate of the Mandan tribes depends upon the oracular responses of another sacred rock, whose commands are believed and obeyed with the most implicit confidence. Every spring, and on some occasions during the summer, a deputation from the savages visits the sacred spot, where there is a large porous stone, twenty feet in circumference.

"In Major Long's Tour to the Rocky Mountains, it is stated, 'That the Minnitaree Indians worship the Me-mo-ho-pa, a large, naked, and insulated rock, in the

midst of a small prairie, about two days' journey from the village of that nation. In shape it resembles the steep roof of a house, and the Minnitarees resort to it for the purpose of propitiating their Great Spirit, by presents, fasting, and lamentation, which they continue for the space of three or five days."

"Under this class of Indian monuments, may be arranged the Figured Rock, at Dighton, in the State of Massachusetts, which has been described in various publications; also, the sculptured rocks that occur in many parts of the American continent, at Tiverton, Rutland, Newport, Scaticook, Brattleborough, Ohio, &c.

"Acosta relates, 'That amongst the ancient Mexicans, worship was paid to rocks or large stones, and that in the highways they found great heaps of them, which had been offered to the gods;' but he adds, 'that in his time, this superstition of worshipping great stones, had altogether ceased.'

"Gomara, in his Account of Peru, mentions the same practice as still continued amongst the old inhabitants in that country.

"Thus, in the various regions of America, the natives had carefully preserved the stones of memorial and sacrifice, in the use of which they had been instructed by their Celtic ancestors, and which, in some instances, may have been the individual monuments erected by the people.

"3rd. *Circles of Memorial* were the next monuments erected by the ancient Celtæ; they consist of nine, twelve, or more rude stones, placed so as to form a circle, and were generally placed on an eminence. There appear to be at least three of these sacred circles in

America. I have been informed of one by Dr. E. James, the scientific tourist to the Rocky Mountains. It is situated upon a high hill, one mile from the town of Hudson, in the State of New York, and attracted his notice many years ago, on account of the remarkable size of the stones, and their position.

"In Mackenzie's Tour from Quebec to the Pacific Ocean, there is noticed a circle of stones, artificially laid on a high rock, upon the banks of the River Winnipigon, which discharges itself into a lake of the same name. The Indians are accustomed to crown this circle of stones with wreaths of herbage, and with branches; for this reason, the carrying-place which passes it has received the appellation of Le Portage de Bonnet.

"Tradition sometimes conveys along the stream of time a name attached to these stone monuments, which informs us of their use. In Erin's bright green isle, which was a famous resort of the Druids, these stone circles, placed upon an eminence, are called in the Irish language, Carrick Brauda; and in Wales, similar structures have retained the name, Cerrig Brudyn, to the present time; the appellation is the same in both countries, and means Astronomers' Circles. And thus, in ages long since past, perhaps at the same instant of time, though under different skies, the Druids of England, and the priests of Cuzco, the astronomers of Ireland, Hudson, and Winnipigon, seated upon the lofty hills, and surrounded by their sacred circles of stone, were calculating the progress of the seasons, the revolutions of the planets, and the eclipses of the sun, by the same formula which their ancestors had first practised in the central plains of Asia.

"4th. *Rocking-stones* are memorials raised by the same people, and the same race of men, who elevated the cromlechs; they consist of an enormous stone, so equally poised upon its base, that a very small force is sufficient to move it; sometimes even the touch of a finger will cause it to vibrate.

"There are several of these memorials of a former race, in the United States of America, but of the origin of the whole of them we cannot be certain, until an accurate account is published, of their size, appearance, and situation; and it would be desirable if they were illustrated by correct drawings. In the State of New York, there are probably three or more. Professor Green has described one, in the American Journal of Science, vol. v. page 252. It is situated near the top of a high hill, near the village of Peckskill, in Putnam county; the moveable stone is thirty-one feet in circumference; the rock is of granite, but the mica contained in it being schistose, gives it some resemblance to gneiss; and it is supported by a base of the same material. This rocking-stone can be moved by the hand, although six men, with iron bars, were unable to throw it off its pedestal.

"There is also a rocking-stone in Orange county, State of New York, of which no account has yet been published.

"In the State of Massachusetts, I have heard of some near Boston, between Lynn and Salem, but do not vouch for the accuracy of the statement, until they undergo a careful examination.

"There is one at Roxburgh, near Boston, described in the Journal of Science, edited in that city.

"A small rocking-stone occurs at Ashburnham, in the same State.

In New Hampshire there are two; one at Andover, weighing fifteen or twenty tons, and the other at Durham. This was, a short time since, a very splendid rocking-stone, weighing between fifty and sixty tons, and so exactly poised, that the wind would move it, and its vibrations could be plainly seen at some distance; the rock is forty-five feet in circumference, and seven in thickness.

5th. *Tumuli or Barrows.*"—These have been already described.

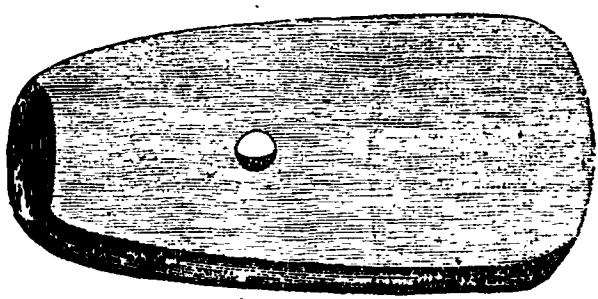
Many other remains of antiquity might be noticed, if my limits would permit; but I must confine myself to a few of the most interesting ones. Among these, I cannot but regard the hearths and fire-places which are occasionally brought to light, on the banks of the Ohio, four to six feet below the surface. The trees which at the settlement of the country by the present inhabitants, grew on the spot beneath which these chimnies and fire-places are buried, are stated by Mr. Attwater, to have been as large as any in the surrounding forest; and to indicate, that a long period, perhaps a thousand years, may have elapsed since the hearths were deserted. The mummies discovered in the nitrous caves of Kentucky, enveloped in coverings of linen cloth, and a network of more artificial structure, in which are fixed the feathers of different descriptions of birds, similar to the manufacture common in the South Sea Islands, appear to be remnants of an earlier race than the present Indians.

It is also stated by Mr. Attwater, that the skeletons found in the mounds in Ohio "never belonged to a people like our Indians. The latter are a tall, rather slender, straight-limbed people: the former were short and thick. They

were rarely above five feet high, and few, indeed, were six. Their foreheads were low, cheek-bones rather high, Their faces were very short and broad, their eyes were very large, and they had broad chins."

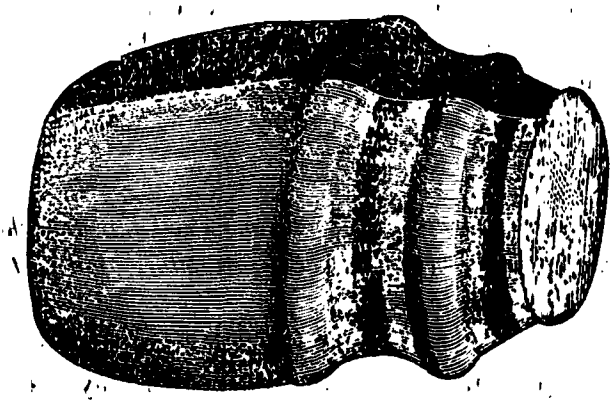
"*Drawings of Ornaments and Domestic Utensils, taken from Mounds, chiefly by Caleb Attwater, and most of them in his possession.*

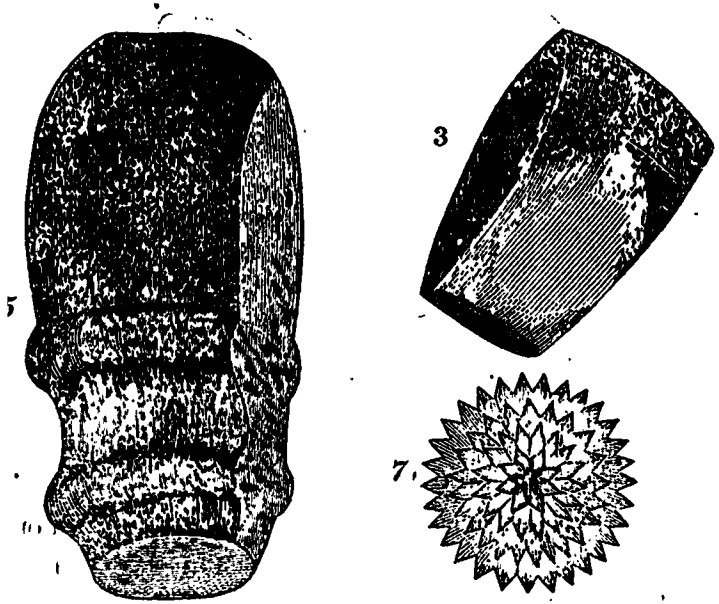
"All these drawings are three-fifths each way as large as the article they represent.



"A stone ornament, supposed to have been worn on the breast, suspended by a string round the wearer's neck."

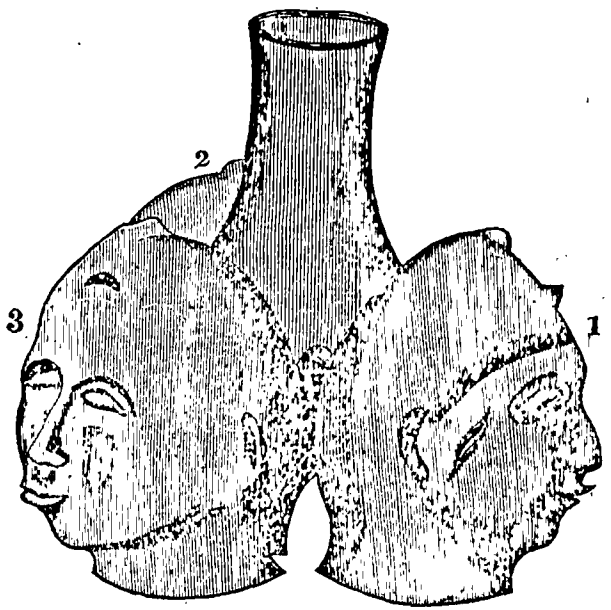
A Stone Axe.





"3. A small Axe of granite. 5. A curious stone Axe, of granite. 7. A beautiful Rock Crystal, supposed to have been worn as an ornament."

"In addition to what is already said, under the descriptions of mounds, we will here add, that on the Cany fork of Cumberland river, a vessel was found in an ancient work, about four feet below the surface, a drawing of which is here given. It is believed to be an exact likeness."



"The object itself may be thus described. It consists of three heads, joined together at the back part of them, near the top, by a stem or handle, which rises above the heads about three inches. This stem is hollow, six inches in circumference at the top, increasing in size as it descends. These heads are all of the same dimensions, being about four inches from the top to the chin. The

face at the eyes is three inches broad, decreasing in breadth all the way to the chin. All the strong marks of the Tartar countenance are distinctly preserved, and expressed with so much skill, that even a modern artist might be proud of the performance. The countenances are all different each from the other, and denote an old person and two younger ones.

"The face of the eldest is painted around the eyes with yellow, shaded with a streak of the same colour, beginning from the top of the ear, running in a semicircular form to the ear on the other side of the head. Another painted line begins at the lower part of the eye, and runs down before each ear about one inch.—(See figure 1.)

"The second represents a person of a grave countenance, much younger than the preceding one, painted very differently, and of a different colour.—A streak of reddish brown surrounds each eye.—Another line of the same colour, beginning at the top of one ear, passes under the chin, and ends at the top of the other ear. The ears also are slightly tinged with the same colour.—(See figure 2.)

"The third, in its characteristical features, resembles the others, representing one of the Tartar family. The whole of the face is slightly tinged with vermilion, or some paint resembling it. Each cheek has a spot on it, of the size of a quarter of a dollar, brightly tinged with the same paint. On the chin is a similar spot. One circumstance worthy of remark, is, that though these colours must have been exposed to the damp earth for many centuries, they have, notwithstanding, preserved every shade in all its brilliancy.—(See figure 3.)"

"This 'Triune vessel' stands upon three necks, which are about an inch and a half in length. The whole is composed of a fine clay, of a light umber colour, which has been rendered hard by the action of fire. The heads are hollow, and the vessel contains about one quart."

"Does it not represent the three chief gods of India, Brahma, Vishnoo, and Siva? Let the reader look at the plate representing this vessel, and consult the 'Asiatic Researches,' by Sir William Jones; let him also read Buchanan's "Star in the East," and the accounts there found of the idolatry of the Hindoos; and, unless his mind is formed differently from mine, he will see in this idol, one proof at least, that the people who raised our ancient works, were idolaters; and, that some of them worshipped gods resembling the three principal deities of India. What tends to strengthen this inference, is, that nine murex shells, the same as described by Sir William Jones, in 'Asiatic Researches,' and by Symes, in his 'Embassy to Ava,' have been found within 20 miles of Lexington, Kentucky, in an ancient work. Their component parts remain unchanged, and they were every way in an excellent state of preservation. These shells, so rare in India, are highly esteemed and consecrated to their god Mahadeva, whose character is the same with the Neptune of Greece and Rome. This shell, among the Hindoos, is the musical instrument of their Tritons. These shells, found near Lexington, are in the museum of Mr. John D. Clifford, of that place, a very worthy gentleman. The foot of the Siamese god, Gaudma or Boodh, is represented by a sculpture, in Ava, of six feet in length, and the toes are carved, each to represent a

shell of the murex. These shells have been found in many mounds which have been opened in every part of this country; and this is a proof that a considerable value was set upon them by their owners."

"That the people who erected our ancient works were idolaters, is inferred also from the age of the world in which they lived; from the certainty which history, sacred and profane, affords, that all other nations were idolaters at the same time; that all people, except the Jews, who buried their dead in tumuli, were idolaters.

"Many of the most intelligent persons who have examined our antiquities with care, have expressed a belief that the sun was worshipped by this people. Without pretending to decide on a subject so intricate, and where there is no positive proof of the fact; and without even expressing an opinion myself, the circumstances on which others have founded such an opinion shall be briefly stated.

"Wherever there is a walk like a road up to any large mound, elevated, circular, or square work, where the situation of the ground will admit of it, such works are uniformly on the east side, as at Circleville. Mounds are generally so situated, as to afford a good view of the rising sun. Hundreds might be mentioned as examples. Where mounds are encircled with walls and ditches, if there is a gateway, it is almost uniformly towards the east. Where persons belonging to this people were buried in caves, as they sometimes were, the mouth of the cave is towards the east; wherever we find a pavement in a semicircular form, partly enclosing a mound, it is always on the east side. When persons were buried

in graves, as they often were,* these graves were east and west. I suspect that our custom of burying the dead in the same way was derived from one common origin; in the same manner that our burying grounds, always being near churches, and sometimes under them, is derived from the primitive custom of interring the dead either near or in the ancient tumuli, which were used as altars, on which temples were, in later ages, erected."

But the potter's ware is the most remarkable and interesting of the manufactures of the race, whose vestiges we are tracing.

"On the surface of the earth," says Mr. Attwater, "or very near it, a rude kind of ware, made of sand, stone, and clay composition, near Lake Erie; of lay, on the northern waters of the Scioto; of clay and shells in composition, on the Ohio and Mississippi, is frequently found, belonging to a recent era, and manufactured even by the present race of Indians. None of this ware is glazed, and its workmanship is rude. But at the bottom of mounds, or near the head of some distinguished personage, vessels are found, in some instances equal to any now manufactured in any part of the world. These are not always made of the same materials. Two covers of vessels were found in a stone mound in Ross County, in this State, very ingeniously wrought by the artist, and

* Many wonderful tales have been related of a race of pigmies, whose burying grounds have been discovered in the west. A little more attention would have cleared up the mystery. The legs below the knee-joint were turned under the body, which made the graves very short, though the skeletons are as large as those found in our mounds They were a short but very thick-set people.

highly polished. These were made of a calcareous breccia; fragments of which were examined by Professor Silliman, of Yale College, Connecticut. These covers resembled almost exactly, and were quite equal to vessels of that material manufactured in Italy at the present time."

I have made the more copious extracts from the works, to which I have referred, both because they are American publications, which have not, I believe, been reprinted in Europe, and because it is only by a large induction of particular facts, that any satisfactory conclusion can be drawn respecting a population, on the obscurity of whose infancy, history has not shed her light, and on which tradition has cast but a faint and feeble gleam.

There are, indeed, few subjects of speculative inquiry more attractive and interesting than those which respect the Aborigines of a vast Continent; but, at the same time, there are few on which the judgment is more likely to be biassed by a latent reference to a favourite theory, or the imagination more in danger of being captivated by analogies, which, having their foundation in the nature of man and similarity of situation, do not afford those proofs of intercourse or connection, which are furnished by a coincidence in distant countries, in opinions or usages of an arbitrary or conventional character.

It is not my intention to attempt to ascertain the precise origin of that interesting people, whose vestiges we have been contemplating; to determine from which, (if from any,) of the ancient nations with whose names we are acquainted, they derived their extraction; at what age of the world they first trod the shores of what we denominate the

New World; or how many generations have elapsed since they mingled their ashes with its dust; whether they preceded the immediate ancestors of the present race of Indians, or succeeded and drove them to remoter forests by the force of numbers or superior skill. These investigations, interesting as they are, and destined, perhaps, to be elucidated by the future researches of our trans-Atlantic friends, it is not my design to prosecute. But from the facts which I have adduced, the following inferences may be drawn, I conceive, without violating the sobriety and caution with which inquiries of this nature should ever be pursued:—

That part of North America was once inhabited by a race, probably differing from the present Indians in physical conformation, and certainly superior to them in civilization and knowledge of the arts.

That the progress of this race was from North to South, and that they left traces of a more dense population, and a gradual improvement in the arts as they advanced from the State of Ohio towards the Gulf of Mexico.

That some of these monuments of antiquity afford a strong presumption of intercourse or connection with the old world, and seem to indicate the *probability* of an Asiatic origin.

I will now proceed to inquire what proofs or indications of Asiatic extraction are exhibited by the present race of Indians, premising that the opinion entertained by Dr. Boudinot, in his "Star in the West," that they are Hebrews, the descendants of the Ten Tribes, appears to be refuted by a reference to the Indian languages. It is now generally believed, that, exclusive of the Esquimaux,

these may all be resolved into three primitive languages, the Iroquois, the Lenapè, and the Floridian. But, as it is observed by Dr. Jarvis, in his excellent discourse on the religion of the Indians, "These three languages are primitive; that is to say, are so distinct as to have no perceivable affinity. All, therefore, cannot be derived from the Hebrew; for it is a contradiction in terms, to speak of three languages radically different, as derived from a common source. Which, then, we may well ask, is to be selected as the posterity of the Israelites: the Iroquois, the Lenapè, or the southern Indians?

"Besides, there is one striking peculiarity in the construction of American languages, which has no counterpart in the Hebrew. Instead of the ordinary division of genders, they divide into the animate and inanimate. It is impossible to conceive that any nation, in whatever circumstances they might be placed, could depart, in so remarkable a manner, from the idioms of their native language."

But if we cannot assign to the Indians a Hebrew origin, we shall probably find strong reason to believe that they are of Asiatic extraction.

In the first place, their appearance is in favour of this opinion.—"The features of Little Turtle," says Volney, "bore a strong resemblance to those of some Chinese Tartars, who had been brought to Philadelphia by Van Braam, the Dutch Ambassador to Pekin. This likeness between the Indians and Tartars has struck all who have seen them both; but, perhaps, some have too hastily inferred that the former are originally from Asia. I have said that the Indians resemble the Asiatic Tartars; but some exceptions must be made, for the Esquimaux

of the North, and the grey-eyed race, near Nootka Sound, are each a distinct race, with no Tartarian features. The Tartar face only belongs to those who people the middle and southern regions, and who form a vast majority. At Vincennes and Detroit, I met with faces that reminded me of Bedouins and Egyptian fellahs. In the hue of their skin, quality of hair, and many other circumstances, they were alike."

Dr. Dwight observes, in his Travels, recently published, "The figure, complexion, dress, manners, customs, and canoes of the natives on both Continents are the same. Mr. Smibert, a respectable European painter, who came to New England with the celebrated Bishop Berkeley, in the year 1732, saw some Indians at Newport, and informed Dr. Stiles, afterwards President of Yale College, that their countenances, in all the features, were remarkably copies of some Tartars, whose faces he had taken at Naples for the King of the Two Sicilies. The opinion of a respectable painter, on a subject of this kind, will not, I suppose, be questioned.

"The tribes of both Continents pull out their beards, march in a single file, bury their dead in the same manner," &c. &c.

Dr. Mitchell, in a paper in the Medical Repository, remarks, "His Excellency M. Genet, late Minister Plenipotentiary from France to the United States, is well acquainted with the faces, hues, and figures of our Indians and of the Asiatic Tartars; and is perfectly satisfied of their mutual resemblance. Mons. Cazeaux, Consul of France to New York, has drawn the same conclusion, from a careful examination of the native man of North America and Northern Asia.

"Within a few months I examined, over and over again, seven or eight Chinese sailors, who had assisted in navigating a ship from Macao to New York. The thinness of their beards, the bay complexion, the black lank hair, the aspect of the eyes, the contour of the face, and, in short, the general external character, induced every person who observed them, to remark, how nearly they resembled the Mohegans and Oneidas of New York."

"Sidi Mellimelli, the Tunisian Envoy to the United States, in 1804, entertained the same opinion, on beholding the Cherokees, Osages, and Miamees, assembled at the city of Washington, during his residence there. Their Tartar physiognomy struck him in a moment."

Basil Hall, who had visited the Indian seas, observes of the people of Acapulco, in his very interesting account of the South-West Coast of America, "The appearance of the country people at Acapulco differed from that of the South Americans; their features and colour partake somewhat of the Malay character; their foreheads are broad and square; their eyes small, and not deep-seated; their cheek-bones prominent: and their heads covered with black straight hair; their stature about the medium standard; their frame compact, and well made."

Dr. Dwight remarks, that the traditions of all the American nations, so far as they are known, uniformly declare, that their ancestors came from the West. "Particularly this is asserted by the Mohekaneews, the Iroquois, and the Mexican nations. An Indian historian, of the Mohekaneews, delivers it as the tradition of their ancestors, that they came in the direction of west by north from another country; that they passed over the

great waters, where this country and that are nearly connected; and that they originally lived by the side of the Ocean, whence they derived their name, which signifies great waters continually in motion, or continually ebbing and flowing."

Mr. Heckewelder states, that the Lenapè have a tradition amongst them, of their ancestors having come from the westward, and taking possession of the whole country from the Missouri to the Atlantic, after driving away or destroying the original inhabitants of the land, whom they termed Allegewi. In this migration and contest, which endured for a series of years, the Mengwe, or Iroquois, kept pace with them, moving in a parallel, but more northerly line, and finally settling on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and the great Lakes, from whence it flows. The Lenapè being more numerous, peopled not only the greater part of the country at present occupied by the United States, but also sent detachments to the northward, as far as the banks of the River Mississippi, and the shores of Hudson's Bay. The principal of their northern tribes are now known under the names of the Salteurs or Chippeways, and Crees. *

This tradition of the Lenapè corresponds, in a remarkable measure, with the position of the monuments of antiquity, already noticed, so rare in that part of the Continent, to which these tribes are said to be driven, and so numerous in those parts occupied by their conquerors.

The religious opinions and customs of the North American Indians, are similar to those which we might expect

* See Franklin's Narrative.

in the descendants of Noah, cut off from the rest of the world; and they exhibit traces of the revelations communicated to the Patriarchs, debased by many of those corruptions of polytheism and idolatry, which all nations exhibited, in a greater or less degree, before the promulgation of Christianity.

"The existence of a Supreme Being, the Creator and Preserver of mankind, and the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments, are common to all the Indian tribes yet discovered. With respect to the first of these, Dr. Jarvis very strikingly observes,—

"'Thus, in the vast extent of country, from Hudson's Bay to the West Indies, including nations whose languages are radically different; nations unconnected with, and unknown to each other, the greatest uniformity of belief prevails, with regard to the Supreme Being; and the greatest harmony in their system of polytheism. After this view, it is impossible not to remark, that there is a smaller departure from the original religion among the Indians of America, than among the more civilized nations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. The idea of the Divine Unity is much more perfectly preserved; the subordinate divinities are kept at a much more immeasurable distance from the Great Spirit; and, above all, there has been no attempt among them, to degrade to the likeness of men, the invisible and incomprehensible Creator of the universe. In fact, theirs is, exactly, that milder form of idolatry, which 'prevailed every where from the days of Abraham, his single family excepted;' and which, after the death of that patriarch and of his son Isaac, infected, from time to time, even the chosen family itself."

But the connection of the religion of the Indians with the patriarchal religion, is still more strikingly illustrated by the almost universal practice of sacrifices, and the institution of a priesthood. The existence of both is mentioned in the most explicit terms, by almost every traveller among the Indians.

Charlevoix among the Hurons, Iroquois, and Algonkins; Mackenzie among the Knisteneaux; Loskiel among the Lenapè or Delawares; Adair among the Creeks, Katabahs, Cherokees, and Choctaws, &c. &c.

Is it not impossible to account for an institution so repugnant to our natural feelings, as the sacrifice of an innocent animal for the offences of men, on any other supposition than that of its divine appointment? And is not the prevalence of this custom among the Indians, a strong indication of some intercourse or connection with the Patriarchs or their descendants.

The Jugglers or Conjurers, also, (so common among the Indians,) who profess, by the performance of miracles, to cure diseases, inflict punishments, procure rain, and to foretel future events, seem to afford some trace of a traditionary acquaintance with the prophetic office of Scripture.

In the missionary settlement of Brainerd, in the Cherokee nation, I was told that the nation had a sort of city of refuge, into which the murderer might flee, and where he might remain with impunity. As I had no opportunity of verifying this information, by a close examination into the nature of the refuge thus adverted to, or of confirming it by the testimony of independent witnesses, it did not make much impression upon me, until I met with the following passage in Bradbury's Travels in the Missouri:—

"I am not acquainted with any customs peculiar to this nation, (the Aricaras,) save that of having a sacred lodge in the centre of the largest village. This is called the Medicine Lodge; and in one particular, corresponds with the Sanctuary of the Jews, as no blood is on any account whatsoever to be spilled within it, not even that of an enemy; nor is any one, having taken refuge there, to be forced from it. This lodge is also the general place of deposit, for such things as they devote to the Father of Life!"

It has been suggested to me, by a friend,* whose name confers great weight on any opinion which is sanctioned by his authority, that the Green Corn Festival of the Indians, and our May Dance, are remnants of the Eastern worship of Baal, Bel, Adonis, or the Sun. He observes, "The peasantry in the remote parts of Scotland, still celebrate the Feast of Baal, by kindling fires on the eve of that day, which they call *beltane*, without being aware of the heathen origin of the custom, which would certainly shock my pious countrymen. I have seen the hills in the Orkneys blazing with an hundred fires on such an occasion, which, if my memory serves right, is in May or June."

The pole which I saw in the Indian town of Co-se-ta, round which the Green Corn Dance was held, exactly resembled our May-pole; and I could not read Pennant's account of the celebration of Beltane, without being

* Dr. Traill, of Liverpool, to whom I am indebted for several valuable suggestions, especially on subjects of Natural History, of which I have availed myself in the preceding pages. I am gratified by this opportunity of expressing my sense of the deep obligations, which, in common with my townsmen, I feel to Dr. Traill; for his generous, persevering, and efficient efforts to improve the literary taste, and elevate the intellectual character of the community in which he resides.

forcibly reminded of the description which I received of the Green Corn Dance in the Creek Nation of the Indians.

I cannot better conclude these remarks, which have swelled to an extent which I little anticipated, than by another extract from the excellent Discourse of Dr. Jarvis. :—

"We have seen, that, like all other nations unblessed with the light of Christianity, the Indians are idolaters; but their idolatry is of the mildest character, and has departed less than among any other people, from the form of primeval truth. Their belief in a future state is clear and distinct, debased only by those corporeal associations which proceed from the constitutional operations of our nature, and from which even Christians, therefore, are not totally exempt. They retain among them, the great principle of expiation for sin, without which all religion would be unavailing. And they acknowledge, in all the common occurrences of life, and even in their very superstitions, the over-ruling power of Divine Providence, to which they are accustomed to look up with an implicit confidence, which might often put to shame the disciples of a purer faith."

"I have now finished the view which I proposed to take of the religion of the Indians. I am sensible that it is very imperfect, but enough has been said, I hope, to show the analogy which it bears to the religion of the Patriarchal ages; and its wonderful uniformity, when considered as prevailing among nations so remote and unconnected."

"It has already been observed, however, that their religion can afford no clue, by which to trace them to

any particular nation of the Old World. On a subject so obscure as the origin of nations, there is great danger of expatiating in conjectures. In fact, the view here taken, in some measure cuts off these conjectures, by tracing the Aborigines of America, to a higher source than has been usually assigned to them. If the opinion I have advanced, be true, it will, I think, appear rational to believe, that the Indians are a primitive people; that, like the Chinese, they must have been amongst the earliest emigrants of the descendants of Noah; that, like that singular nation, they advanced so far beyond the circle of human society, as to become entirely separated from all other men; and that, in this way, they preserved a more distinct and homogeneous character, than is to be found in any other portion of the globe. Whether they came immediately to the Western continent, or whether they arrived here by gradual progression, can never be ascertained; and is, in fact, an inquiry of little moment. It is probable, however, that, like the Northern hordes who descended upon Europe, and who constituted the basis of its present population, their numbers were great; and that, from one vast reservoir, they flowed onward, in successive surges, wave impelling wave, till they had covered the whole extent of this vast continent. At least, this hypothesis may account for the uniform character of their religion; and for the singular fact which has lately been illustrated, by a learned Member of the American Philosophical Society, that their languages form a separate class in human speech; and that, in their plans of thought, the same system extends from the coasts of Labrador to the extremity of Cape Horn."

THE END.

LIVERPOOL:

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POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

After many copies of the preceding Work were sent off, I received an American Newspaper, which contained the following documents; and as they appear to throw much light on the views and feelings which are entertained in the United States on the subject of the Indians, I have thought it desirable to insert them in those copies which were still within my reach. The latter document needs no comment.

So long as the British dominions contain such numerous tribes of the American Aborigines as are to be found in British America, the public attention cannot be too frequently or too generally directed to this interesting subject.

INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN GEORGIA.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS.

I TRANSMIT to Congress certain papers enumerated in a report from the Secretary of War, relating to the compact between the United States and the State of Georgia,

entered into in 1802, whereby the latter ceded to the former a portion of the territory then within its limits, on the conditions therein specified. By the 4th article of that compact, it was stipulated that the United States should, at their own expense, extinguish, for the use of Georgia, the Indian title to all the lands within the State, as soon as it might be done *peaceably*, and on *reasonable* conditions. These papers show the measures adopted by the Executive of the United States, in fulfilment of the several conditions of the compact, from its date to the present time, and particularly the negotiations and treaties with the Indian tribes for the extinguishment of their title, with an estimate of the number of acres purchased, and sums paid for the lands they acquired. They show, also, the state in which this interesting concern now rests with the Cherokees, one of the tribes within the State, and the inability of the Executive to make any further movement with this tribe, without the special sanction of Congress.

I have full confidence that my predecessors exerted their best endeavours to execute this compact in all its parts, of which, indeed, the sums paid, and the lands acquired during their respective terms, in fulfilment of its several stipulations, are a full proof. I have also been animated, since I came into this office, with the same zeal, from an anxious desire to meet the wishes of the State, and in the hope that, by the establishment of these tribes beyond the Mississippi, their improvement in civilization, their security, and happiness, would be promoted. By the paper bearing date on the 30th of January last, which was communicated to the chiefs of the Cherokee nation in this city, who came to protest against any fur-

their appropriations of money for holding treaties with them; the obligation imposed on the United States, by the compact with Georgia, to extinguish the Indian title to the right of soil within the State, and the incompatibility with our system, of their existence as a distinct community within any State, were pressed with the utmost earnestness. It was proposed to them, at the same time, to procure and convey to them territory beyond the Mississippi, in exchange for that which they hold within the limits of Georgia, or to pay them for its value in money. To this proposal, their answer, which bears date 11th of February following, gives an unqualified refusal. By this, it is manifest that, at the present time, and in their present temper, they can be removed only by force, to which, should it be deemed proper, the power of the Executive is incompetent.

I have no hesitation, however, to declare it as my opinion, that the Indian title was not affected in the slightest circumstance by the compact with Georgia, and that there is no obligation on the United States to remove the Indians by force. The express stipulation of the compact, that their title should be extinguished at the expense of the United States, when it may be done *peaceably* and on *reasonable* conditions, is a full proof that it was the clear and distinct understanding of both parties to it, that the Indians had a right to the territory, in the disposal of which they were to be regarded as free agents. An attempt to remove them by force would, in my opinion, be unjust. In the future measures to be adopted in regard to the Indians within our limits, and, in consequence, within the limits of any State, the United States have duties to perform, and a character to sustain,

to which they ought not to be indifferent. At an early period, their improvement in the arts of civilized life was made an object with the Government, and that has since been persevered in. This policy was dictated by motives of humanity to the aborigines of the country, and under a firm conviction that the right to adopt and pursue it was equally applicable to all the tribes within our limits.

My impression is equally strong that it would promote essentially the security and happiness of the tribes within our limits, if they could be prevailed on to retire west and north of our States and Territories, on lands to be procured for them by the United States, in exchange for those on which they now reside. Surrounded as they are, and pressed as they will be, on every side, by the white population, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for them, with their kind of government, to sustain order among them. Their interior will be exposed to frequent disturbances, to remedy which, the interposition of the United States will be indispensable, and thus their government will gradually lose its authority, until it is annihilated. In this process, the moral character of the tribes will also be lost, since the change will be too rapid to admit their improvement in civilization, to enable them to institute and sustain a government founded on our principles, if such a change were compatible either with the compact with Georgia, or with our general system, or to become members of a State, should any State be willing to adopt them in such numbers, regarding the good order, peace, and tranquillity of such State. But all these evils may be avoided, if these tribes will consent to remove beyond the limits of our present States and Territories. Lands equally good, and perhaps more fertile, may be

procured for them in those quarters; the relations between the United States and such Indians would still be the same. Considerations of humanity and benevolence, which have now great weight, would operate, in that event, with an augmented force; since we should feel sensibly the obligation imposed on us by the accommodation which they thereby afforded us. Placed at ease, as the United States would then be, the improvement of those tribes in civilization, and in all the arts and usages of civilized life, would become the part of a general system, which might be adopted on great consideration, and in which every portion of our Union would then take an equal interest. These views have steadily been pursued by the Executive, and the moneys which have been placed at its disposal have been so applied, in the manner best calculated, according to its judgment, to produce this desirable result, as will appear by the documents which accompany the report of the Secretary of War.

I submit this subject to the consideration of Congress, under a high sense of its importance, and of the propriety of an early decision on it. This compact gives a claim to the State, which ought to be executed, in all its conditions, with perfect good faith. In doing this, however, it is the duty of the United States to regard its strict import, and to make no sacrifice of their interest not called for by the compact, nor contemplated by either of the parties, when it was entered into, nor to commit any breach of right or of humanity in regard to the Indians, repugnant to the judgment, and revolting to the feelings, of the whole American people.

I submit the subject to your consideration, in full confidence that you will duly weigh the obligations of the compact with Georgia, its import in all its parts,

and the extent to which the United States are bound to go, under it. I submit it with equal confidence, that you will also weigh the nature of the Indian title to territory within the limits of any State, with the stipulations in the several treaties with this tribe, respecting territory held by it within the State of Georgia, and decide whether any measure, on the part of Congress, is called for at the present time, and what such measure shall be, if any is deemed expedient.

JAMES MONROE.

Washington, 30th March, 1824.

[Accompanying this Message, are the Report of the Secretary of War, and nearly a hundred pages of documentary matter, from which the following is selected as presenting the view of the subject which is entertained by the Representatives of the State of Georgia.]

To the President of the United States:

The Secretary of War has addressed to the gentlemen composing the Georgia delegation to Congress, copies of the extraordinary documents furnished by persons who are called the *Cherokee Delegation.* As this is believed to be the first instance in which a diplomatic correspondence has been held with *Indian Chiefs*, and in which they have been addressed by the Department of War in the same terms with those used to the *Representation of a State*, it becomes a subject of inquiry in what light the Cherokees are at present viewed by the Government of the United States. If as an independent nation, to be treated with by all the forms of diplomatic respect, the negociation with them should be transferred to the Department of State, and will, no

doubt, be preceded by a proper examination into their authority to speak for the Cherokee tribe, on matters affecting its prosperity and existence. If to be viewed as *other Indians*, as persons suffered to reside within the territorial limits of the United States, and subject to every restraint which the policy and power of the general Government require to be imposed upon them, for the interest of the Union, the interest of a particular State, and their own preservation, it is necessary that these misguided men should be taught, by the general Government, that there is no alternative between their removal beyond the limits of the State of Georgia, and their extinction. The Government of the United States will deceive them grossly, if they are led to believe that, at this day, *their* consent is necessary to the fulfilment of *its* obligations to the State of Georgia. Their will must yield to the paramount duties of the general Government to *itself* and to *each member* of the Confederacy. The Cherokees allege (if, indeed, the representation made is made with their authority) that they are resolved neither to leave nor sell the lands on which they reside—lands which belong to the State of Georgia; over which Georgia did claim sovereignty until the adoption of the federal constitution, and over which she will exercise her powers whenever any administration of the general Government resolves to fix permanently upon them any persons who are *not*, and whom she will never suffer to *become*, her citizens. The doctrines of the general Government, sanctioned by the highest tribunals, vindicate the claim of Georgia to the ownership of the soil. The Indians are simply *occupants*—tenants at will—incapable of transferring even their naked possession, except through

the instrumentality of the United States, to the State of Georgia. Aware of the tenure by which their temporary possession is held, their head men have sought, in many instances, to secure, from the United States, a title to the soil itself. Stipulations have been entered into by the general Government equally contradictory to the rights of Georgia, and the obligations of the United States; stipulations, however, which show that the general Government have the acknowledged right to transfer the possession of the Cherokee lands to the State of Georgia. The power which takes from the Cherokee *tribe* a portion of soil to confer it on a Cherokee *chief*, under a different tenure, can rightfully take from the Cherokee nation for the benefit of a State.

It is with deep concern that the necessity is felt of pressing upon the general Government the considerations that are due to its character, for good faith in its contracts with a member of the Union. Since the year 1802, implicit reliance has been placed in the general Government; and the just expectation has been indulged, that, in the execution of its high duties, the executive administration would carefully and steadily pursue the object for which the faith of the Union was pledged,—the *peaceable extinguishment*, on *reasonable terms*, of the *Indian title* to all the lands within the territorial limits of Georgia. In 1817, the public declaration of the President to Congress, that an arrangement had been made, by which, in exchange for lands beyond the Mississippi, a great part, if not the whole, of the lands possessed by the Cherokee tribe, eastward of that river, in the States of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia, and in the territory of Alabama, would be soon acquired,

gave a just expectation that the national pledge given to Georgia, would be redeemed. In the eight years which have succeeded, these anticipations of the President have been realized every where but in Georgia. The successive purchases made, since that period, have crowded the Cherokees out of Tennessee, North Carolina, and Alabama, almost altogether into Georgia; and the terms upon which they have been made, have created all the difficulties now encountered in the *peaceful acquisition*, on *reasonable terms*, of the lands upon which the Cherokees are now permitted to remain; difficulties which are every hour increasing, from the policy pursued by the general Government.

It is, with all due respect, a subject of serious inquiry, what produced the extraordinary change in the wishes of the Cherokee tribe, as expressed in the treaty of 1817? How it happened that the Cherokees of the *upper* towns, most of whom were without the limits of Georgia, and who desired to be permanently fixed on the lands upon which they then lived, were induced, in 1819, to abandon their designs, and many of them to become inhabitants of the region beyond the Mississippi, —while the Cherokees of the lower towns, (most of them *within* the State of Georgia,) anxiously desiring to remove in 1817, were, in 1819, tempted to remain, and filled with the desire of a permanent establishment there? The same exertions which produced *this*, can effect *another* change; can induce the remnant, still in the limits of Georgia, to follow their brethren to the west, to a territory which the general Government can rightfully bestow upon them, as a temporary or permanent property, without interfering with the right, or encroach-

ing upon the sovereignty of any State. Argument is not necessary to show, that a power which interposes obstacles to the accomplishment of its own promises, violates its faith; and that, to plead the impossibility to perform an engagement, when that impossibility is produced by those who engaged to perform it, would be equally dishonourable and hypocritical. The President is probably not aware that the United States will be liable to such accusations, if the present moment is suffered to pass, without a full compliance on their part, with the obligations of the treaty of cession of 1802. What has created the strong desire of the Cherokee Indians to remain where they are? The policy of the general Government; the pretended guarantees of their possessions; the attempted changes in the nature of their titles to them; the lessons received from their masters in the arts of civilized life; the acquisition of property, and the desire of extending and securing it; a policy just and generous to the Indians, but solely at the expense of a member of the Union; at war, not less with the rights of that member of the Union, than with the solemn promises of the general Government. The United States have the same right to colonize a tribe of Indians from the Columbia or Red River in Georgia, as they have to pursue a system of policy whose aim or end shall be the permanency of the Cherokees within that State.

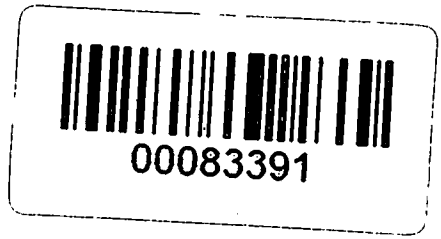
If the Cherokees are unwilling to remove, the *causes* of that unwillingness are to be traced to the United States. If a peaceable purchase cannot be made in the ordinary mode, nothing remains to be done, but to order their removal to a designated territory beyond the limits of Georgia, and giving an ample equivalent for the ter-

tory left by them, and an ample support to the territory granted to them. An order of this kind will not be disregarded by the Cherokee tribe, whose interest will be essentially promoted by a compliance with it, (whatever may be the effect of it upon a few *chief men*, who seem to consider *their own interest* as separate and distinct from that of their brethren,) as it must be obvious that a tranquil and undisturbed possession of a permanent property can alone enable them to acquire the arts of civilized life, and to secure to them its benefits.

Our duty is performed by *remonstrating* against the policy heretofore pursued, by which the interests of Georgia have been disregarded, to the accomplishment of other objects of general interest; and a compliance with a solemn promise postponed, for the acquisition of territory for the general Government; and by *insisting*, as we do, most *earnestly*, upon an immediate fulfilment of the obligations of the articles of cession, concluded in 1802, as the only means by which justice can be done to the State we represent, and the character of the general Government be vindicated.

J. ELLIOTT, } Senators.
N. WARE, }
JOEL ABBOT, } Representatives.
GEO. CARY, }
TH. W. COBB, }
W. CUTHBERT, }
JOHN FORSYTH, }
WILEY THOMPSON, }

Washington, 10*th March*, 1824.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